AN INQUIRY INTO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EARLY SCHOOL LEAVING AND ATTITUDE TOWARD AUTHORITY FIGURES

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AN INQUIRY INTO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EARLY SCHOOL LEAVING AND ATTITUDE TOWARD AUTHORITY FIGURES

Ву

Kingsley Montgomery

AN ABSTRACT

Submitted to the School of Advanced Graduate Studies of Michigan State University of Agriculture and Applied Sciences in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

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THESIS

THE PROBLEM. This study was an inquiry into the relationship between early school leaving and attitude toward authority figures. The purpose was twofold: (1) to determine if those who left school prior to completion of the 12th grade expressed more hostility towards teachers, police and parents than did a matched group who remained in school, (2) to determine if there is a relationship between hostility and job turnover and hostility and delinquent behavior.

METHODS, TECHNIQUES, AND DATA. The investigation was conducted using a sample of eighty-six subjects. Half of this sample were youths who had voluntarily dropped out of the Detroit public school system sometime after their 16th birthday but prior to graduation. These subjects were a selected sample from the total number of students leaving school in the Fall term, 1953. The control group was composed of youths who were attending school at the time of the study. Subjects in this group were chosen individually to match the school leavers in these variables: age within six months, race, sex, intelligence within the same letter grouping, high school and socio-economic level as determined by the father's occupation.

Each member of the sample was interviewed. A semi-structured questionnaire was employed and responses to various questions were recorded by the investigator. The questions were designed to elicit attitudes toward such authority figures as teachers, police and parents and to obtain such other information as was pertinent to the inquiry. Also at the time of the interview the 'F' Scale, authored by Adorno, Sanford, et al., was administered to each subject. This scale was

selected as a more subtle approach to the measurement of hostility than were direct questions. The instrument was also used as a means of checking the reliability of any judgements as to whether or not the subjects in the sample were or were not hostile toward those in authority. The records of the Youth Bureau of the Detroit Police Department were consulted to determine which persons in the sample had been apprehended for delinquent acts.

From the responses obtained on the questionnaire, two judges categorized the subjects as: (1) expressing hostility toward authority, (2) expressing no hostility, or (3) expressing ambivalences. Statistical techniques were used to determine: (1) percent of agreement between the judges and significance of the judges' ratings, (2) statistical significance of the difference between the experimental and the control group on the 'F' Scale, (3) relationship between degree of judged hostility and job turn-over, (4) relationship between those of the drop-out group who were in the top and bottom 27 percent on the authoritarian measure and job turn-over, and (5) relationship between delinquency and score on the 'F' Scale.

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS. The judges found that more of the experimental group expressed hostility toward those in authority than did those in the control group. They were in agreement 68 percent of the time. The findings of each judge were submitted to a chi square test and each showed a significance at the 1 percent level of confidence. The 'F' Scale could discriminate between the drop-out and the non-drop-out at the 3 percent level of confidence. Those of the experimental group judged

hostile did not have a significantly higher job turn-over rate than those judged to be not-hostile. Those of the experimental group who were in the top 27 percent in scores on the 'F' Scale had no significantly greater job turn-over rate than those scoring in the bottom 27 percent.

No significant correlations could be found between delinquency and score on the authoritarian measure.

The hostility held by the subjects in the experimental group did not carry over to the job situation to the extent that they obtained and left jobs more frequently than those who were not-hostile. Too, those who were in trouble with the police were not uniformly hostile as measured by the authoritarian scale. The judges decided that the early school leaver expressed more hostility than did the school non-leaver. The findings using the 'F' Scale supported the judges' findings in that the drop-out was more of an authoritarian personality than the non-drop-out, thus had underlying feelings of hostility.

AN INQUIRY INTO THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EARLY SCHOOL LEAVING AND ATTITUDE TOWARD AUTHORITY FIGURES

A Dissertation

Presented to

the Faculty of the School of Advanced Graduate Studies of
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by
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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM. BACKGROUND AND DEFINITION OF TERMS

Chene Station Reacts

Hanged Effigy Signals Police War On Hoodlums

If youth gangs in the Chene Precinct think police have been tough on them, "they haven't seen anything yet," according to Inspector Melville Bullach.

Bullach's ire reached a peak last night.

He didn't mind so much that one of his scout cars found a police figure hanged in effigy from a street sign at Maxwell and Duncan. It bore a sign, "We hate cops."

But when someone threw a cement block through a scout car windshield as it was parked at a police call box in the vicinity of Helen and Medbury, Bullach said, "Enough is enough." . . .

Describing the troublesome youths as "just a bunch of low-brow punks" the men of the Chene station have vowed to give them "some extra special attention." (55:6)

Introduction

At the time, late fall, 1954, there was much discussion and evidence of hard feelings about a continued wave of rowdyism and juvenile delinquency in the Detroit area; the local police, under orders from the Police Commissioner, instituted a so-called 'get tough' policy. Simultaneously with these events, the writer, as a special resource person to the Sub-committee on Counseling and Guidance of the Mayor's Committee on Children and Youth of the City of Detroit, was conducting a study concerned with "Community Responsibility to Out-of-School Youth." In interviewing these out-of-school youth, there was brought rather forcefully to the writer's attention, the hostility of some of the interviewees

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toward certain authority figures. Trouble was in the air and these youths were not wont to let the perceived challenge go untaken and were not at all reticent to talk about it. Thus was aroused in the writer an interest in the relationship between authority or authority figures and early school leaving. Is the school leaver less of an authoritarian than the school non-leaver? Can he more objectively evaluate authority? Is his leaving school related to authoritarianism? Is he less docile in the face of authority and is his rebelliousness reflected in a juvenile delinquency record and more rapid job turn-over? Was he a 'joiner' in school or was he a lone wolf?

Statement of the Problem

It is the purpose of this study to inquire into the relationship between attitude toward authority of early school leavers and attitude toward authority of those who remain in school. The problem centered around an investigation of the attitude toward authority as it is indicated by: (1) judge's ratings of responses to semi-structured interview questions as to whether, or not the youths give evidence of hostility toward certain authority figures, (2) score on an authoritarian scale, (3) juvenile delinquency record, and on (4) job turn-over.

Hypotheses

The following specific predictions are tested: (1) There is no significant difference in attitude toward authority of the school leaver and school non-leaver as determined by judge's ratings of the youth's

responses to specific questions. (2) There is no significant difference in attitude toward authority of the school leaver and the school non-leaver as indicated by their scores on an authoritarian scale. (3) Of the school leavers, there is no significant difference in the number of jobs held by those judged to be hostile toward authority figures and those judged not to be hostile toward authority figures. (4) Of the early school leavers, there is no significant difference in the number of jobs held by those ranking in the top and bottom twenty-seven percent of an authoritarian scale. (5) There is no relationship between incidence of delinquency and score on an authoritarian scale.

Importance of the Study

Youth is the nation's richest resource. By 1960 there will be nearly 17 million teen agers. (48:1) The teen-agers of today will not only be the homemakers, the scientists, the teachers, the farmers, the shopworkers and the statesmen of tomorrow, but also among them will be the future irresponsibles, misfits, racketeers and criminals. What they will become, what part they will play in our democratic society depends to a great extent on the period between childhood and adulthood. In this total building process, the early years and the years of adolescence are highly important. Neglect may set a pattern for future failure, frustration and maladjustment which will be costly to the individual and to society.

If people are to live together in assured peace and growing prosperity they must do what they can to give teen-agers a reliable set of

values, a set of personal responsibilities, all the technical and scientific knowledge, all the creative skills and all the self-understanding and understanding of others that they can acquire. Too, their attitudes must be such that they may live in harmony in a democratic society.

At some time during their teens, most young people begin their first job in the adult working world. This is one of the pivotal points in their experience. Failure to find and keep satisfying work is a traumatic experience. Their personal-social need to engage in work which gives a sense of accomplishment and which makes them feel that they are contributing to purposes larger than their own must be satisfied whenever possible.

Concerning the labor force, Lubin has this to say:

In our working force of more than sixty million, less than ten million can today be classified as skilled workers. And, in many cases, this is more or less an honorary title, since the skill is frequently severely limited to one particular operation or a complex trade.

Even under our present technology this is a low . . . figure. And it is a dangerously low figure when we contemplate what is facing us in the future.

Even though automation is in its infancy, the engineers and scientists are already complaining that their progress is being held up because we do not have enough journeymen who can operate the complex electronic stop-and-start mechanisms. . . .

The voices of fear are already whispering that automation will make the training of workers a useless job. They say that . . . an employee will need neither brains, nor skill, nor training, but only a long, strong index finger to push the right button. This is complete, downright, utter nonsense. The worker of the future will have to be more knowledgeable, more skillful, better trained than he is now. . . .

If we hope to successfully deal with automation, I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that something between a third and half of our future working force will have to be skilled. And "skilled" does not mean semi-skilled, or skilled at one particular job, but fully trained, adaptable journeymen. (51:4, 5)

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To this end, it would help if the competent youth stayed in school at least through the twelfth grade since this is a prerequisite to most jobs or at least until such time as his educability has been reached. Yet today, about one-half of those who start school fail to complete senior high school.

What of this half that fail to complete high school? What age are they? How far do they go in school? Why do they leave? What are their homes like? Do they like school and their teachers?

Committee members of the Committee on holding power in the Grand Rapids, Michigan, public schools write:

Most of the drop-outs express highly charged emotional negativism and bitterness about school. . . . We have seldom, if ever found one who liked school, who was an accepted and participating member of the school program. Most of them are bored or actively hate school and want to get away from it and us. However, the dislike for school is itself in some ways a symptom of deeper psychological and sociological forces operating in the drop-out's life. (44:9) . . . School leaving, even among bright children, is often a rebellion against parent and teacher authority. (44:14)

What are the deeper psychological and sociological forces operating in the drop-out's life? If it is true as suggested, why does the child rebel against parent and teacher authority? From whence comes attitude toward authority?

The California Group, Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, and Sanford, in their monumental study of the Authoritarian Personality (2:32) found that attitude toward authority figures, toward discipline, and toward conventional morals and mores was not independent, but a function of some characteristic mode of response to conflict and hostility. This mode of response was learned primarily as a defense mechanism to

cope with the demands of punitive, authoritarian parents. Though these attitudes have their inception in childhood, indeed, infancy, because of the dynamic nature of the strivings repressed, the defense mechanisms adopted form an enduring part of the individual's character and are carried into adult life. Is there a relationship between dropping-out of school and authoritarianism and its resultant attitude toward authority?

Definitions of Terms Used

- 1. Attitude. "An individual's attitude toward something is his predisposition to perform, perceive, think and feel in relation to some object in the environment." (23:118-119) The attitude is not the acting but the predisposition to act and is theoretically a component of all behavior, overt or covert. As a result, the number of attitudes a person has is equivalent to the number of things to which he can respond. An attitude is extremely elusive and, since it is not the observed action, presents certain problems in measurement and prediction. For example, a person may strongly dislike a minority group but still act very pleasantly toward certain or all members of the group because of financial gain, civic pressures or any number of other reasons. His real attitude toward the group may be so completely shielded that it will appear only through indirect actions such as tending to blame the group for increasing crime rates, slum conditions, lowering of property values, et cetera.
- 2. Authoritarian Personality. Since it is considered a syndrome rather than a single entity, it is necessary to summarize the description

of the authoritarian personality as it appears in the research of Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, et al. (2:224-241) They define the authoritarian personality as one in which there is a rigid adherence to conventional, middle-class values, an uncritical attitude toward moral authority of the in-group, a tendency to condemn, reject and punish those who violate conventional values and to oppose the subjective and the tender minded. It includes a disposition to think in rigid categories, to be preoccupied with the dominance-submission dimension; they want to dominate and humiliate the weak or those they consider weak. They make outward projections of unconscious emotional impulses; their judgments and interpretation of facts are distorted by psychological urges. Toward people in general there is a variable degree of generalized hostility. However, to be concise, the writer, in the present study, wishes to employ an operational definition of authoritarianism using performance on the scale designed by the previously mentioned California group, and entitled the 'F' scale, as the criterion by which to define population samples possessing high or low degrees of this general constellation of traits known as authoritarianism.

- 3. Authority Figure. A person, board or commission having power or perceived to have power in a particular field. Power is due to opinion or esteem: influence of character, station, mental or moral superiority, or the like.
- 4. <u>Delinquent</u>. A juvenile is considered a delinquent under Michigan law if he has committed an offense against the law, whether or not he has

been detected in the offense. (6:60) Though this may be true, it is not a usable definition, for the undetected ones could not be accessible for identification and observation. Carr in defining delinquency defines six levels of anti-social status, among which is one entitled 'agency delinquents' and these are defined as "all detected anti-social deviants reaching any agency." (6:59) Delinquent acts are defined by law and what constitutes a delinquent act varies from one state to another.

Based on the foregoing, the following definition for a juvenile delinquent has been adopted for this study. A juvenile delinquent is a youth who has committed an offense against the laws of the State of Michigan prior to his eighteenth birthday and has been detected in this by the police.

This means that the youth has been brought in for a chargeable offense but it does not necessarily mean that the youth has been brought into court and punished. It does not apply to such contacts with the police as being called in to witness in a case where the police do not suspect the youth of having had a part in the violation of the law in question. It does mean, however, that the youth was apprehended by the police for an offense that was presumed to be a violation of the law.

5. Early School Leaver or Drop-Out. One who has voluntarily left school after the legal age (16) but before completion of the twelfth grade. It does not include those dropping out for reasons of personal illness or movement from the city or incarceration in a detention home or state hospital.

6. <u>High School or Secondary School</u>. Detroit has both a 6-3-3 year system of schools and an 8-4 year system. However, whether the ninth grade is the last year of the intermediate school in the 6-3-3 system or the first year in the 8-4 year system, it is to be considered part of the high school or secondary school and the high school in this paper is to include grades nine through twelve. This term includes the school whether it is a trade school only or a commercial school only or one offering only an academic curriculum or any school offering a combination of these.

Limitations

The following statements are the limitations of the study as perceived by the writer.

- (a) Limitations related to the methodology and instrument used.

 Limitations lie in selection of the sample, its number and in the instrument for measuring authoritarianism; the judging of the interview responses.
- (b) Limitations related to the concept of authoritarianism and the real cause of early school leaving. A first limitation is partially due to the paucity and quality of information regarding authoritarianism and attitude toward authority of the sample and its relationship to early school leaving. A contrasting limitation is illustrated by the wealth of information concerning the drop-out. The limitation is that though the many studies reach approximately the same conclusions as to age, grade, percent leaving school, et cetera, little has been done to

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look behind the stated reasons for leaving school.

(c) Limitations related to the state of the economy, because expansion or contraction of the economy affects employment of all in the labor market.

Scope of the Study

The sample studied is drawn from the population of drop-outs of the Detroit Public School System and a matched group presently attending that public school system. Grades one through eight are not represented, only grades nine through twelve are, since the latter grades have the larger problem of elimination to solve. The description and selection of the sample is described in detail in Chapter III.

Organization of the Study

In Chapter II an attempt has been made first, to review selected, pertinent studies relating to the early school leaver over an extended period of time and especially those studies of a local nature; to review a study concerning employment of the drop-out; to review a report on Detroit area delinquents; to review a study concerning the behavior problems in school age children as seen by teachers. Secondly, Chapter II contains a review of the literature on the authoritarian personality. Chapter III will provide an explanation of the procedures and methods used. The collection of data through interviewing will be discussed in Chapter IV. Analysis of the data appears in Chapter V. In Chapter VI; findings, conclusions and implications for further research are found.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Introduction

Two rather distinct entities are involved in this dissertation, thus the review of the literature will be in two parts. Part 'A' is to be concerned with information on the school leaver and Part 'B' is to be concerned with studies on the authoritarian personality.

The Early School Leaver

Introduction. The writer has approximately one-hundred fifty bibliographic references dating from 1909 to the present that concern early school leaving. These come under such diverse titles as: "Pupil's Objection to School," "Education for All Youth," "Youth Tell Their Story," "Secondary and Post Secondary Education in a Rural County," "When Boys Leave School for Work," "Reducing Drop-Outs," "How Common is High School Graduation," "Early School Leavers - A Major Education Problem," et cetera. There is little value in reviewing all these references since so much of it is duplication, since many studies are out-dated, since some of the information is not pertinent to urban areas (e.g. Affect of distance from school on dropping out of school.), and since much of the information is only incidentally related to the present study.

Instead, the writer wishes to review fully two of the best known references: Youth Tell Their Story, by Howard M. Bell, (4) and Early School Leavers, by Harold J. Dillon; (11) and two done locally in Detroit: Unemployed Youth, by Louis R. Altshuler, (42) and a mimeographed pamphlet entitled, Information About High School Drop-Outs; (43) and some miscellaneous articles concerned with schools. The purpose of the review is to indicate the stability of a composite picture of early school leavers as seen by various investigators and to indicate that the area of attitude toward authority has only been briefly touched on but never explored as far as can be ascertained.

Bell's study was conducted for the American Youth Commission of the American Council of Education. Since it is all inclusive in terms of identifying the major needs of the youth population it includes not only school leavers but also those who may have completed both high school and college as well. Only to the extent that the data involves the early school leaver will it be extracted in this chapter.

The study, though being carried out in the State of Maryland, has national implications by virtue of the representativeness of the sample. Dr. Bruno Fels, who was nominated by the Central Statistical Board of the United States Government to act as a disinterested evaluator of the sampling method used, says in his report to the Commission: (4:1, 2)

I do not hesitate to state that in my opinion there can hardly be found a more thorough and well planned way of taking such a sample. . . . After all, it seems to me that quite apart from the method of sampling or from the degree to which

this sample may be representative of the youth of the United States as a whole, the full importance of this study is to be seen in the results obtained from youth of every social and economic background, of different race, parentage, and over a definite range of ages, et cetera. This analysis of the differential within the group of youth included in the sample appears to have been attained to a full one hundred percent.

The essential character and problems of youth have been so variously interpreted by adults that to avoid the confusing and contradicting voices of these adults, Bell and his helpers turned to the youth himself so that valid information might be obtained. In so far as the persistent exercise of scientific controls can be made to insure the integrity of the sample, the youth who were interviewed can be definitely accepted as representative of the young people of Maryland. In respect to national implications and in addition to Dr. Fels' testimony, the author states: (4:11) "... we are ... impelled only to suggest that in many essential respects the Maryland sample exhibits, within reasonable limits, the characteristics of the national youth population." The writer hopes to show that the composite picture of the early school leaver of Bell's study is reasonably the same as those of Detroit, and point out what ever differences may be present in the result are, perhaps, those of the health of the economy.

Bell feels that the crucial element in the youth problem seems to be what to do with themselves during the period between the time when they are through with school and when jobs are ready for them. This is a widened, self-imposed gap when the youths quit before completion of

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secondary school. The emphasis in this review, then, will be on the early school leaver since it is not only the crucial element in Bell's study but the subject matter of the dissertation.

Generally speaking, about two-thirds of the youth in Bell's study came from homes where the family constellation is intact; of the third who came from broken homes, whether broken by death, divorce, separation or desertion, death was the most usual cause.

Socio-economic level of a family is determined in large measure by the usual occupation of the father. In Bell's sample and in relation to the major occupational groups and divisions as categorized by the Dictionary of Occupational Titles, (13:XIX) 29.9 percent of the fathers had professional, managerial or technical jobs; 8.8 percent had clerical or sales jobs; 2.8 percent had personal service jobs; 20.1 percent had jobs in agriculture; 22.8 percent held skilled jobs; 11.2 percent held semiskilled jobs; 9.3 percent held unskilled jobs, and 4.1 percent had other and unknown jobs. (4:22) The median number of living children per family was 4.7 children and the median number of children increases as the occupational level of the father descends from professional to farm laborer with those of foreign birth tending to have more children than those born in the United States.

Sixty-five percent of the sample did not complete high school, the median grade attainment of the out-of-school youth was approximately the completion of the ninth grade. (4:56) Factors that seemed to influence educational progress as indicated by the data collected by Bell were those of (1) Race - the Negro not going as far as the white; (2) Sex - a

larger proportion of boys than girls failing to continue; (3) Size of family - the larger the family, the greater the probability that the youth leaves school at the elementary level; (4) Occupation of father - the lower the level of the father's occupation, the less likely the youth is to continue in school. (4:57-58)

In the study, the youth were asked why they left school. Fiftyfour percent indicated that they left for economic reasons; 20.6 percent
said for lack of interest in school; 2.2 percent because of disciplinary
troubles; 1.8 percent because subjects were too difficult and the
remaining for various reasons such as poor health, to marry, a feeling
of completion on attainment of a certain grade. It perhaps should be
noted that only 2.2 percent admitted having disciplinary problems.

The study also gathered data concerning jobs and incomes. The types of jobs held were comparable to their fathers' in level with about 35 percent being "white collar" workers and about 65 percent being "blue collar" workers. (4:107) The median weekly salaries were low as was to be expected in terms of the total economic health of the United States at that time (1938). The factors that affected income were those of sex, race, age, hours worked, locality of residence, school grade completed and occupational field. Bell says: (4:121) "So far as these data are concerned, it is reasonably safe to assume that a young person who has had the advantage of a high school education will earn 50 percent more than the youth who chooses, or who is forced, to leave school before he has finished the 8th grade."

Throughout the study, Bell is forever bitter and occasionally poetic

about the influence of the father's occupation on continuation in school.

In a previous section, . . . we considered how the social and economic background of the youth and his family are related to his educational progress. We said something about the apparent existence of social and economic forces that tend to freeze social levels and to hold young people in the grip of the same restrictions to which their parents had been subjected. . . A comparison of the unskilled and semi-skilled groups with the professional, technical and managerial groups clearly indicates the extent to which the youths' grade level has been influenced, if not in a large measure determined by the occupation of his father. . . . With the fact established that the youths' grade attainment is influenced by the nature of the father's job and the amount, therefore, of his father's income, another trip around our vicious circle is begun. (4: 92-93)

Bell recognizes other variables but seems to continually harp back to what he calls "economic determinism." He says: (4:96)

That mental endowment is a factor in determining the scholastic and vocational success of the individual no competent observer will deny. Yet, to imagine that this factor, operating alone, is always sufficiently strong to cancel out the depressing and retarding effects of low economic status is to close one's eyes to reality. . . . to assume that scholastic and vocational awards are distributed on the basis of mental endowment is either to confess ignorance of the facts or a reluctance to face them.

Thus in summary of Bell's study, it would seem that: about 65 percent of his sample did not complete high school; the median grade attainment was the ninth grade; the primary reason for leaving school as given by the youth himself was economic with only 2.2 percent indicating disciplinary problems in school as the reason for leaving; the occupation of the father and his income was the primary determining factor in continued school attendance and possibly the determining factor in level of occupation secured by the youth on leaving school.

Continuing in an attempt to build up a composite picture of the early school leaver and adult and youth's views as to reasons for leaving

school, the writer wishes to review the study called, <u>Early School Leavers</u>, by Harold J. Dillon in 1949. (11) This study employed a representative sample of early school leavers in small towns of Jackson County, Michigan; Lansing, Michigan; Cleveland and Cincinnati, Ohio; and Indianapolis, Indiana. These towns were picked by Dillon for they were thought to contain representative cross-sections of the population in respect to social, economic, racial and educational background and included small towns, and large metropolitan centers. The writer picked this particular study because of the similarities of the population studied to the Detroit area and because the problems faced by youth in the large urban areas of Cleveland and Indianapolis are thought to be comparable to the ones faced by the youth in Detroit.

The Dillon study states that fifty percent of the students who entered high school in the public school system dropped out before graduation. Thus in comparing Bell's and Dillon's rate of drop-out, it is noted that there is a greater percentage of youth staying to complete high school in 1949 than in 1938. This is a predicted phenomenon since in April, 1933, an article in <u>Journal of Educational Research</u> entitled, "Significant Changes in the Curve of Elimination Since 1900," E. J. Klein (36) showed that the curve of elimination was such that in 1900, 81.7 percent of the youth were eliminated before or during the ninth grade; that by 1918, 39.6 percent were eliminated up to and during the ninth grade; and that by 1929, 20 percent were eliminated by the ninth grade. Thus one would predict that as time elapsed more and more youth would tend to stay in school. However, for various reasons, as the

economic depression in "30-"39, wars, expanding economy and its accompanying wealth of jobs, sub-cultural disapproval of continuing in school, et cetera, the expected frequency does not always develop."... the number graduating from high school reaching an estimated fifty-eight percent of the entire number ... by 1950." (48:5) Thus, perhaps, it can be safely said that the percent of those graduating from high school of all those who started high school is somewhere between the fifty percent obtained by Dillon and the more optimistic fifty-eight percent as estimated by the Federal Committee.

Data from Dillon's study indicates that the majority of drop-outs are sixteen years of age (the minimum drop-out age in the states studied) and they drop out of the ninth and tenth grades. Seventy percent came from homes where they lived with both parents, a figure not unlike those found in Bell's study. Eighty-eight percent came from homes where English was spoken predominantly. Dillon found no evidence to show that there was any relationship between the number of siblings and probability of leaving school early. As to the influence of the occupation of the parent, he says, (11:21, 22) "In general, the school leavers appear to be the children of the average wage-earner but this is not a distinguishing characteristic because many children of the wage earner finish high school." The statement immediately preceeding regarding the influence of the number of siblings and occupation of the father as being negligible factors in dropping out of school as found by Dillon is diametrically opposed to Bell's findings. No attempt will be made by the writer to reconcile these views but it is to be

noted that in the methodology employed in the present study that the occupation of the father is held constant so that any influence, real or fancied, is mitigated.

Dillon utilized information as to the general intelligence of his subjects, taking more cognizance of this variable as a determining factor in remaining in school. He found that forty percent had I.Q.'s of 95 and above, 24 percent between 85 and 95 and 36 percent below an I.Q. of 85. Fifty-two percent of his subjects experienced one or more grade failures. Thirty percent of those who repeated grades had I.Q.'s over 95 and 11 percent of those who repeated grades had I.Q.'s of over 105. Thus it would seem that about 41 percent of those who repeated grades should not have had to do so because of any lack of capacity. In the group studied there was a general decline in scholarship among the early school leavers as they progressed from elementary to junior high school to senior high school. Dillon offers no explanation of this. Whether he considers this due to increased competition, increased boredom, increased impatience with the subject matter, increased need for economic freedom, et cetera, is not known.

Dillon also asked the drop-out why he left school. His study shows that as a primary reason, thirty-six percent listed "preferred work to school"; 15 percent listed "needed money to buy clothes and help at home"; 11 percent listed "not interested in school work"; 7 percent listed "could not learn and was discouraged"; 6 percent listed "wanted spending money." (11:26) The categorization here is a little obscure. If thirty-six percent preferred work to school, why did they

prefer work? If it were disinterest, then it could be listed as such and added to the 11 percent who so made that comment. If they preferred work to school because of the income work brings, then perhaps this category should be combined with the one of "needed money to buy clothes and help at home" or the one, "wanted spending money." At any rate, what is clear is that some quit for economic reasons, some because of disinterest and some because they felt that they could not successfully compete with their peers. None of the data indicated that the individual quit because of disciplinary problems or inability to get along with teachers or peers.

Concerning employment, Dillon found that eighty-six percent of his sample began work immediately, 32 percent had three or more jobs in the first year out of school. Seventy-five percent were dissatisfied with their jobs. Though most indicated a desire for further formal training, only twenty percent had taken any steps to obtain any training. Those who did, usually took a single or very specific course, as typewriting, shorthand, et cetera. Both Bell and Dillon found that the drop-out felt that he was ill-prepared by the formal training he had received in school for securing and holding a job. Though this would imply a curriculum change, Bell's study indicated that those who complete high school will earn 50 percent more than the youth who chooses to leave. Bell puts it this way: (4:12) "However imperfect and unadapted to modern needs some of our educational programs may be, one need have no qualm about assuming that formal school education for the great majority of youth who have the ability and opportunity to take advantage of it, yields worthwhile returns."

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In comparing the preceding two studies where there are comparable variables under discussion, the authors are in substantial agreement except on the influence of the father's occupation on early school leaving and the number of siblings in the family. Whereas Bell indicates that these are "crucial elements," Dillon says they have no relationship.

So far in this chapter, the writer has reviewed a large study with national implications; a smaller study, closer to the Detroit area with north-central state implications (though not discounting national implications); and he now wishes to review one done locally in Detroit by the Detroit Board of Education. (43) The report presents information secured about reasons for dropping out, the characteristics of drop-outs as learned from school records and home interviews and the significant relationships which appear to exist among various factors associated with the drop-out problem.

This study indicates, (43:3) "For various reasons it is impossible at present to establish in Detroit or elsewhere an exact 'drop-out' rate, although efforts to arrive at such a determination . . . are underway." However, in the year studied, 10.3 percent of those who were in membership in September of one year were not so by June of the following year. Though Detroit has both three and four year high schools, all the ninth graders were included in the report. On the basis of 10.3 percent dropping out in one school year, it perhaps can be concluded that of those who start high school, about 41 percent will not finish high school, a figure that approximates the estimated figure of the Federal Securities Administration.

Concerning age, grade and sex, forty percent were sixteen years old and thirty-seven percent were seventeen years old when they quit, the remainder being eighteen or nineteen years old. Ten percent of the drop-outs were in the ninth grade, forty percent in the tenth, and thirty-six percent in the eleventh grade. Fifty-eight percent were boys and forty-two percent, girls. Thus it would seem that age and grade level attainment of the drop-out in Detroit is about the same as the sample in Dillon's study and though the age of dropping-out has not materially changed in relation to Bell's study, the grade attainment has increased slightly as could be predicted from Klein's study of the curve of elimination. At any rate, the drop-out problem seems to be definitely one for the secondary school, not the grammar school.

In the Detroit study, ninety-eight percent of the students were born in the United States, and English was the only language spoken in ninety-two percent of the homes. Ninety percent of the drop-outs were living with both parents and investigators concluded that 81 percent of the homes visited gave indications of reasonably happy and well adjusted families. "The financial abilities of the families to keep their children in high school (although not necessarily to provide money for certain 'extras') was discussed, and believed to be sufficient by 86 percent of the parents and 82 percent of the drop-outs themselves." (43:4)

Eighty-two out of one hundred of the parents of the drop-outs did not complete high school. In 52 percent of the families, no older siblings of the drop-out were high school graduates, 76 percent of the siblings dropped out in the tenth or eleventh grade. Thus it would seem that a

drop-out pattern was established in the family.

In the Detroit Public School System, all students are required to take the Detroit General Aptitudes Examination which was formulated by Harry J. Baker, Director of the Psychological Clinic of the Detroit school system, Paul H. Voelker and Alex C. Crockett, formerly of the Psychological Clinic. Local norms have been established and rather than a definite I.Q. score being recorded, a letter, indicating capacity, is put on all school forms. The letter assignment indicating I.Q. limits is given below.

Letter A	IQ	118 plus
Letter B	IQ	111-117
Letter C	IQ	90 -11 0
Letter D	IQ	83 - 89
Letter E	IQ	82-below

In the Board of Education survey, nine percent of the drop-outs were rated above average (A and B), sixty-seven percent average, and twenty-four percent below average in general intelligence. "Though there are some differences between the above and below average classifications, it will be noted that 76 percent of the drop-out group were average or above and should have been able to complete their high school courses so far as their native capacity was concerned." (43:4)

This study also attempted to find out why the youth left school, their approach being somewhat different in that they not only asked the youth themselves but also their parents and teachers the real reason for leaving. Since not more than eleven percent of the sample of early school leavers selected any one category, the reasons are given by rank order, the first in line being mentioned by the greater number of

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students; prefer to work, dislike school, loss of interest, financial need at home, failure, too far behind due to absences and can't do the work, personal financial need, discouragement, dislike teachers (about 2 percent). This continues for twenty-one categories but since even the last one named contains only 2 percent of the sample, the writer chooses not to enumerate them. The parents interviewed indicated the following reasons, listed in rank order also, as to why their child quit school; prefers to work, dislikes school, financial need at home, refuses to attend - no control over situation, loss of interest, refuses to study better off working, too far behind due to absence, poor health, advised to leave, over-age for grade. This continues for 34 categories. When the teachers were asked why the student left school, they gave the following reasons; loss of interest, financial need at home, emotional disturbances due to home conditions, discouragement, wants more things than family can provide, discipline case, prefers to work, low ability, dislikes school. In 30 percent of the cases, the three groups, youth, parents and teachers, agree; student and parent agree in 21 percent of the cases; parent and teacher agree in 10 percent of the cases; student and teacher agree in 6 percent of the cases; all three groups disagree in 19 percent of the cases. In about 2 percent of the cases, the reason for leaving was dislike of teachers or counselors; this was agreed upon by the student, teacher and parent.

Supplemental to the original study, each item of information was coded and punched on IBM cards. Employing ". . . the most appropriate statistical process" (43:12) a comparison could be made between any two

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factors. The significant factors that are related to the drop-out are failure and retardation, excessive absences, poor attitude toward school and behavior problems. (43:12). In considering the family situation and the child dropping out of school, it was found that the financial status and the parent's attitude toward education and toward the high school have their influence. Illustrative of the foregoing statement, taken from Table I of the cited reference, is the following: (43:15)

The better the citizenship rating, the higher the grade of drop-out; those who were discipline cases dropped out of school at a lower grade than those who were not; those who had a sense of belonging in the high school situation left school at a higher grade than those who did not; the better the parent's attitude towards teachers fopinion of interviewer, the higher the grade of drop-out.

From Table XIII, there was a significant difference found when the following factors were compared to discipline cases: (43:25)

The frequency of discipline cases who did not get along well with their families was greater than of non-delinquency cases--opinion of interviewer; the frequency of discipline cases who did not get along as well with their teachers was greater than non-disciplinary cases--opinion of interviewer; parents of discipline cases were rated as having a poorer general attitude toward education and high school--opinion of interviewer.

Thus in reviewing the Detroit Board of Education study, the composite picture shows that the drop-out was sixteen or seventeen years old; was in the tenth or eleventh grade when he quit; that the economic status of the family was average; that a drop-out pattern was established in the family; that the three most cited reasons for leaving school by students were that he preferred to work, disliked school, and that he had lost interest in school; that the three most frequent reasons cited by the teachers for the student leaving school were loss of interest, financial

need at home, emotional disturbances owing to home conditions. Statistical data showed that there was no relationship between father's occupation and the child's dropping out of school, that most of the parents felt that the child need not drop out of school for lack of money in the home situation, and seventy-six percent had average to above average capacity to learn. This picture does not vary significantly from the Dillon study and from the Bell study only in so far as Bell finds a relationship between the father's occupation and income and the child quitting school, and the Dillon study indicated that forty percent had average to above average capacity to learn rather than the seventy-six percent indicated by the Detroit study.

The objectives of education have been defined to include "... the effective preparation of young people for life in all its aspects - for work, for health, for use of leisure time, for home membership, and above all for the obligations of citizenship in a democracy." (48:116) When youth drop out of school, they turn to a new and often more difficult way of life. They leave an activity, which, on the whole, is a somewhat protected situation and a well defined social relationship which has been built up over many years. They have established certain habits and have achieved growth depending on their own capacities and perhaps on the capabilities of their educators and on encouragement from home.

Having dropped out of school, youth must either stagnate or turn to some form of purposeful activity, such as employment. Employment involves a reorganization of habits and a reorientation in social and economic relationships that may or may not be done with facility by the youth

involved. Work is usually a more directed and exacting activity, more controlled and more tiring than youth experienced in school. A new relationship is established when the fellow worker takes the place of the fellow student, and the supervisor or foreman takes the place of the teacher. How well does the youth accomplish the transition? Louis Altshuler, in a study of unemployed youth, offers some answers. (42) He indicated that: (42:3) ". . . the purpose of the study is to aid educators in planning for a combined school-work program and to learn the attitudes of out-of-school, unemployed youth, aged sixteen through twenty, who had dropped out of school before high school graduation. . . "

Metropolitan Detroit comprised the area covered by this study. The method of obtaining the data from the 400 youth involved was by means of a personal interview. The youth, on the average, dropped out of school at sixteen, and they had completed the ninth grade. This author too, asked why the youth did not complete high school. His results indicate that twenty-eight percent left to get a job and ". . . three out of five (60.7 percent) of the youth left school because of maladjusted home or school conditions." (42:9) Following are some of the comments made by the youth concerning school conditions that affected his departure and which might provide some insight: (42:10) "Kids are dirty - low class; because they were picking on me at school; always in trouble, didn't like teachers; couldn't seem to cooperate with teachers; ill treatment from teachers; teacher told me I couldn't graduate without credits which were burned." Some of the comments by those who dropped out because of home conditions: (42:10) "Financial reasons; did not get along with mother;

didn't get along with step-mother (I had two of them) - left home for three weeks; father was ill - added income needed; I wanted a lot of things and I could never get them."

With some exceptions, the laws of the State of Michigan require that a child must attend school between the ages of six and sixteen years. (25) By law, also, youth between the ages of sixteen and eighteen are barred from certain occupations considered injurious to health, morals or unduly hazardous. They must, therefore, secure working permits from the Board of Education. Signatures on the permit attest to an offer of employment and approval of the occupation. (24) From the standpoint of employers, compensation laws relating to minors, clauses in union contracts and other types of insurances are additional barriers restricting youth employment. Thus the types of jobs open to youth are rather severely limited.

Since the survey was made just as World War II ended, the preceding period was one in which jobs were rather plentiful. Yet in spite of the wealth of jobs, one-fourth of the early school leavers had never had full-time employment since leaving school. Of the sample, twenty-nine percent had one full-time job, thirty-one percent had from two to four jobs, nine percent had four to six jobs; about three percent had six to eight jobs. During the year preceding the study which included part of the last year of the war, 63.2 percent had not held full-time jobs, 20.7 percent had one full-time job and nine percent had two to four jobs.

The data indicated that the longer the youth were in the labor market, the more frequently they changed jobs. This turnover might reflect trial

and error in adjusting to work experience; youth's inability to do the work because of their own incompetence or the nature of the work; fluctuations in the labor market. This change of jobs might also reflect a resentment of the type of supervision they receive; they may feel insecure in their jobs; or there may be some other way in which they are not adjusting to the organization for which they worked or to their specific job. "The reasons youth gave for leaving their last job may be generalized into four groups: reasons relating to the employer: reasons pertaining to conditions of employment; reasons relating to the youth themselves; and reasons relating to home conditions." (42:30) ". . . out of the youth who had employment, more than two-thirds (68.0 percent) left their last job for reasons other than lay-offs or the employer's going out of business." (42:31) Among the comments the youth made for leaving their last job were the following: (42:31, 33) "Job given to employer's brother; new boss tried to make rules so everybody quit; overworked on job; had to do manager's work too - he would go out for a drink; older women made me do all the work; argument with boss; unable to please boss; fired for fighting." The majority of the youth in Altshuler's study (61.75 percent) worked less than six months on their last job. In relation to the rather unstable tob picture of the early school leaver Altshuler says: (42:36)

Such a course of anarchic, hit-or-miss, floundering work experience for youth is hardly conducive toward acquiring skill, proper work habits, or constructive attitudes toward employment. For youth, such experiences often are barren, frustrating and demoralizing. For society, such a condition constitutes a failure in recognizing a moral responsibility to the adult of the future.

Though Altshuler decries the early school leaver's lack of constructive attitude toward work and the lack of opportunity to acquire work skills, there might be deeper meanings. Meadow indicates: (38:109)

The analytic conception is that an individual is able to achieve independence and positive satisfaction through work. All conflicts around authority, all struggle between rebellion and obedience, therefore, may be expressed in the attitude toward work.

Here again it is suggested that attitude toward authority has a bearing on behavior of youth. This time it affects the work situation.

Thus the composite picture of the early school leaver can perhaps be said to be as follows. The chances are about even as to the sex though the youth is slightly more liable to be a boy. He will be sixteen or seventeen and probably have completed the ninth grade. He will have come from a home where he lives with both parents. English will be spoken in the home predominantly and he will have anywhere from one to eight siblings. His father will be an average wage earner. His general intelligence is somewhat debatable though the chances are from 6 to 4 to 7 to 3 that he will be of average capacity to above average capacity. He is educationally retarded and there has been a general decline in scholarship as he progressed through school. He has had two or more jobs in his first year of employment but tends to stay in the same type of job though working for different employers. He expresses dissatisfaction with the work he has done or is doing.

The reason the drop-out gives for leaving school cannot be taken at face value. The reason for dropping is apt to be a simple name for the many factors which contribute to his situation. There is always the danger

of generalizing on the basis of one rather than another event instead of relating the events within a more realistic perspective. The youth is usually defensive at the time of leaving and he may not be aware of his own motives. What is known is that he is running away from something, not toward something since he may wait long months before obtaining employment. He is dissatisfied with the jobs he obtains, lacks job information and knowledge of placement facilities.

Most of the drop-outs express highly charged emotional negativism and bitterness about school. Their complaints vary, but they all complain. In interviews with them we have seldom, if ever, found one who liked school, who was an accepted and participating member of the school program. Most of them are bored or actually hate school and want to get away from it and us. However, the dislike for school is itself in some ways a symptom of deeper psychological and sociological forces operating in that drop-out's life. (44:9)

School leaving, even among bright children, is often a rebellion against parent and teacher authority. (44:14)

The Grand Rapids committee pointed out that one of the critical signs in pointing out the potential drop-out was the child who aggressively resisted authority in school and that the drop-out often experienced hostility toward the law.

What does the representative of the law - the police department, say of the delinquent?

The Detroit Police Department Youth Bureau compiles an annual report concerning the youthful delinquent in the Detroit area. The one concerning the calendar year of 1953 indicates that 5,274 youth under 18 committed offenses against society. (53) Of these, 4,093 were males and 1,181 were females.

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Because the Detroit Police Department investigates all complaints of crimes and apprehends the offenders wherever and whoever they may be, these boys and girls are a representative group and are rather a typical cross-section of those who get into trouble in the City of Detroit, and they are ample proof that there is no area of the city and no level of society that is free from juvenile delinquency. (53:1)

This, of course, is the position that must be maintained by the police department and though the apprehension of "whoever they may be" may be substantially correct, conviction and corrective measures frequently vary depending on the socio-economic status of the family of the child in trouble.

At any rate, the young to be described have been involved in offenses which range from vagrancy, begging, petty larceny to murder. The following information that presents a composite picture of the Detroit area delinguent is the policemen's opinion based on his experience and the facts provided by others as teachers, parents, ministers, social workers, friends and relatives. The highest percent are in the sixteen-year-old bracket and the next highest in the fifteen-year-old bracket as far as the boys are concerned and in the fifteen-fourteen year age bracket as far as the girls are concerned. Better than 80 percent are average to above average in mentality. Two-thirds of the boys are honest with the police officer with about 27 percent being evasive; of the girls, about 40 percent are honest with 30 percent being evasive. Most indicated that they liked their home with about 10 percent of the girls and 3 percent of the boys saying that they did not. The majority liked their parents with from less than 1 percent to 3.5 percent disliking one or the other of their real parents or one or the other of their step-parents.

Their attitude toward school was one of liking it with about 11 percent of each sex either disliking or hating school. Most were said to have an attitude of friendliness toward teachers with about 2 percent of the boys and 4.3 percent of the girls holding their teacher in contempt or being antagonistic toward teachers. Thirteen and two-tenths percent of the boy delinguents were not in school and 11.5 percent of the girl delinguents were not in school. About four percent of the boys and 5 percent of the girls were making failing grades whereas all the rest were making passing grades. In terms of types of dwellings in which the child lives, most were of the single unit type, then flats, apartments and housing projects in that order for both sexes. The dwellings were in average neighborhoods (56 percent - 41 percent respectively for boy and girl delinquents) with the distribution skewed to the slum end of a wealthy to slum area distribution. Most came from a neighborhood that was racially homogeneous and residential in character. The parent's attitude toward the child varied from one of trying to understand, forgive or being overprotective. Most parents were cooperative with the police officer. The parent's income was judged as adequate and 'regular and low! in almost 100 percent of the cases. Eighty-one percent of the parents of the boys and almost seventy-two percent of the parents of the girls were said not to quarrel at all and 12 percent - 18 percent of the boy's and girl's parents were said to quarrel only occasionally. Consumption of alcohol in the home was considered to have no effect in 96 percent of the boy's homes and 93 percent of the girl's homes.

About seventy-three percent of the boys and about seventy-eight percent

of the girls did not belong to any types of youth group. Around sixtytwo percent of each sex belonged to a loosely knit gang, however, with about seven percent of the boys and seventeen percent of the girls being of the lone-wolf type.

It should be emphasized that in all of the foregoing statements concerning the delinquent where "opinion" was necessary, it is the opinion of the youth bureau police officer which is reflected.

According to the police, then, the delinquent boy is usually honest with the police officer, he likes his home, likes his school, is friendly toward the teacher, was making passing grades, either lived in an average single unit dwelling, a flat or an apartment in an average to a little below average neighborhood which was racially homogeneous and residential in character. His parents tried to understand him, or forgave his delinquencies or were over-protective toward him. His parents were cooperative with the police. The parent's income was judged to be adequate or regular but low. The parents did not quarrel excessively and alcohol consumption by the parent(s) did not affect the home. The foregoing applies to the girl delinquent except that she is a little more evasive with the police than the boy, her home is a little more likely to be in a 'little below average neighborhood' and the parents "quarrel occasionally" more often than the parents of delinquent boys.

The police report points out little that might be construed as something indicative of a difference between the delinquent and the nondelinquent. Indeed, the report says, (53:2)

Since 1946, it has been noted that year after year the findings revealed by this study have remained constant, with a variance of only a few percentage points either way; . . . The facts again indicate that the majority of boys and girls in trouble are normal Americans and are only a very small percentage of the total juvenile population.

However, in a study done in Detroit (50:53) and concerning some relationships between delinquency and school experiences, data showed that the fact that the child was in school could discriminate between the delinquent and the non-delinquent at the 5 percent level of confidence, the non-delinquent tending to stay in school. So, too, could grade level, honor point average, failures in elementary school and such behavior traits as truancy, bullying, fighting.

Yet in another study, Kvaraceus says: (18:135)

"... much of the school data point to a multiplicity of unwholesome, unsatisfactory, unhappy and frustrating situations in which the delinquents were enmeshed. These data suggest that the school may be full of predisposing stimuli which elicit aggression responses on the part of the maladjusted child.

The above mentioned author also indicated that of his sample, 29 percent were involved in home conflicts. Of these, thirty-four percent of the conflicts involved severe punishment, nagging, over-dominance and over-criticalness.

Since the school, next to the home, is the most constructive force in the formation of attitudes and interests, something might be gained by reviewing Wickman's book concerning children's behavior and teacher's attitudes. (29)

Teachers in Wickman's sample were primarily from Cleveland schools with a few included from classes at Teachers College, Columbia and some from a private boy's school in Ohio and some from schools in Minneapolis.

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The last three groups were used as a control group. These teachers were asked to list undesirable behavior as they found it in the school child. After the duplications had been eliminated there resulted 185 separate items of undesirable behavior. These the author placed into seven arbitrary categories; violations of general standards of morality and integrity, transgressions against authority, violations of general school regulations, violations of class room rules, violations of school work requirements, difficulties with other children, undesirable personality traits.

Of this list of 185 items, the author says: (29:18)

On first reading, the above may appear to be a rather impressive list of kinds of undesirable behavior that may arouse sympathy for the child who must run the gauntlet of these teachers' inspections of his behavior as he passes through the grades. If we can take these declarations of behavior problems at their face value, it would seem that the child who escapes the frowns and disapprovals of the teachers must be the exception. A child entirely free from all of these behavior disturbances might very well be regarded with some alarm. The extensiveness of this list of problems raises the question whether the teachers who declared it were an unusually 'strict' group of disciplinarians.

Employing a different sample from areas other than Cleveland and using data obtained prior to his Cleveland study, the author found all teachers pretty much in agreement.

He then asked his teachers to decide on a four point scale which of the items of behavior were the more serious. By interpretive classification of the groups of problems as given by the teachers, the author concludes that the teachers thought: (29:115)

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Immorali- ties Dishones- ties	More Serious	Violations of: order- liness in classrooms	More Serious	Extravagant, aggressive personality and behav-	More Serious	Withdraw- ing, regres- sive person- ality and
Transgres- sions against authority	than	Application to school work	than	ior traits	than	behavior traits

Thirty practicing mental hygienists were given the list of behavior problems to rate as to seriousness of the problem and a formulation of the direction of their reactions to the importance of them follows: (29:130)

Withdraw- ing, regres- sive person- ality and behavior traits	More Serious than	Dishones- ties Cruelty Temper tantrums Truancy	More Serious than	Immorali- ties Violation of school work re- quirements Extravagant	More Serious than	Transgres- sions against authority Violations of orderli- ness in
				behavior traits		class

In addition, the author checked with child guidance clinics in both Cleveland and Minneapolis and found that when parents referred their children for services rendered by the clinics, they too expressed the problem involved as being one where the behavior violated standards of morality and integrity, disobedience and disrespect for authority and lack of concentrated interests. They were, however, also concerned with the neurotic habits of their children, at least more so than were the teachers. (29:20)

The findings suggest that teacher's reactions to the behavior problems of children are determined in direct relation to the immediate effect of the behavior upon the teachers themselves. These problems which transgress the teacher's moral sensitiveness and authority or which frustrate their

immediate teaching purposes are regarded as relatively more serious than problems which affect for the most part, only the welfare of the individual child. The mental hygienists whose focus of attention and interest is on the social and emotional adjustment of the individual, emphasize those problems where the welfare of the individual is concerned.

In speaking of motivation of behavior, Wickman says, (29:143)

The majority of truant children not only run away from difficult situations but do so with an attitude of defiance against the authority that compels them to attend school. Some instances of lying, stealing, and even occasionally sex behavior are expressions of defiance toward authority and moral codes that are enforced by parents, teachers, and the law.

Wickman, accepting the well known frustration-aggression hypothesis as explained by Dollard (12) and the need for tension reduction measures, says: (29:179,180)

The ability to cope effectively with behavior problems in children is considerably dependent on the adult's own adjustment to these problems in personal experience. This raises the question: Is the teacher strong enough to withstand the emotional shocks and personal attacks that are encountered in children's disobedience, defiance, lying, stealing, and sexual demonstrations? Over and above the matter of nervous constitution and natural irritability, important determinants of the disciplinary behavior of teachers are to be found in their individual experiences. such as the nature of their social relationships with others, their personal satisfactions in life, their individual strivings for recognition, their own acceptance of authority, and their personal adjustment to love and sex life. To the extent that a teacher had difficulties with problems of authority in childhood and continues to be disturbed by difficulties in adjusting to principals. supervisors, administrators, the issue of authority becomes a problem between teacher and pupil relationships. . . . Overly strict teachers are frequently those who either may not have solved the authority adjustment for themselves, may have difficulties in their own social relationships, are perhaps not satisfied in their personal strivings, or are unable to cope with troublesome behavior without falling back upon the authority with which they are vested by virtue of their position.

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Thus he indicates that the teacher's frame of reference is such that her emphasis is on obedience, orderliness or compliance with our moral code. This is somewhat understandable since her job is to teach and distractions will prevent her from doing her job; also it may be because she is autocratic and somewhat unadjusted.

In a more recent study, Juuls, after administering a modified 'F'
Scale to a group of teachers, found that those scoring highest (were most
autocratic) held opinions on behavior that approached those teachers in
Wickman's study. Those who were least autocratic held views more like the
mental hygienists in Wickman's study. Juuls (49) also found that those
having had more courses in psychology (making their frame of reference
more nearly like the mental hygienists) were less autocratic.

Be this as it may, the people of Detroit are not dissatisfied with their public schools. In a broad sociological study conducted by Arthur Kornhauser, (17:156) the Detroit Public Schoolswere rated as being "very good" by 46 percent of the sample; as being "fairly good" by 46 percent of the sample; as being "not good" by 6 percent and as "definitely bad" by 2 percent of the sample. Perhaps some insight was had by those who did not fully concur with the majority for one said, (17:158) "Not enough personal interest in the child, have the attitude if the child is not doing well, might as well get out. This is truer in the high school where they are terribly crowded;" another said, (17:159) "School is inconsiderate, also prejudiced. Child is marked according to how well he is liked." Perhaps implied in their remarks are Wickman's conclusions that the docile are not considered problems (get higher grades) and that the

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teacher is less interested in the welfare of the individual child than in maintaining an orderly class.

The Authoritarian Personality

The term democratic and authoritarian personality or character has been adopted in psychology, education, socio-political, social-psychological and sociological literature. The usage of these terms and concepts by the people in such diverse fields perhaps means that they are not only finding the terms convenient but also a meaningful necessity in attempts to solve whatever problems they encounter in their individual disciplines. The immense increase in the gross national product, in technical advances as in automation, nuclear energy, et cetera, and the extension of education to all is believed capable of strengthening and extending democratic freedoms and equality. Although this has happened, there are also forces that have, or tend to destroy the freedoms desired. Thus John Dewey observes: (9:2) "Instead of uniform and steady growth of democratic freedom and equality, we have the rise of powerful totalitarian states with thorough-going suppression of liberty of belief and expression, outdoing (14:5)

The serious threat to our democracy is not the existence of foreign totalitarian states. It is the existence within our own personal attitudes and within our own institutions of conditions which have given a victory to external authority, discipline, uniformity, and dependence upon The Leader in foreign countries. The battlefield is also accordingly here - within ourselves and our institutions.

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Erick Fromm (14:163) has analyzed how the socio-economic alterations and the changes in political, religious and philosophical thought during the last few hundred years have unquestionably increased man's potential for freedom. Yet, it has also created in him such things as feelings of isolation, of weakness and that these feelings have also laid the psychological foundations for the advent of authoritarian ideologies. Aside from historical factors that pre-dispose towards this, Fromm points out that certain types of parent-child relationships may also pre-dispose towards the emergence of authoritarianism. This occurs within a family constellation in which the parents insist and put a decided premium on obedience, submissiveness and respect for authority. Fromm builds up a detailed theory concerning the effect of such parental attitudes and behavior on the child. Against the emusing feelings of defenselessness. isolation and powerlessness, there is created in the child as a defense mechanism, certain personality traits that lumped together may be called the authoritarian personality or authoritarian character.

Maslow and Mittleman (21) speak in terms relating authoritarianism to the school situation. They point out that many practices in the school systems are authoritarian in nature. Such things as viewing the teacher as a demigod and faultless, frequent punishments and humiliations, competition for grades are examples. They indicate that such a system is inclined to work counter to its avowed purposes and instead, destroy self-reliance, independence and self-esteem. Such a system creates a pattern and sociogenically is passed on from one generation to another. If piled-up aggression does not get legitimate expression

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"... it can only emerge later in life in the form of hatred, envy, jealousy directed against younger or weaker people. This makes the whole system self-perpetuating; for these younger people, grown up, will pass it all on to their inferiors. (21:126)

Gardner Murphy (22:864, 865) in elaborating on the authoritarian character structure says that we cannot get rid of it by a pronouncement, that if we understand it, we shall in the same moment begin to understand and apply everything we know about the devices that may liberate us for effective group living.

The most ambitious study undertaken to give us the "understanding" desired by Murphy is the "Berkeley Study" by Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford. (2)

Starting with an inquiry into anti-Semitism they found it to be a part of a more general ethnocentric ideology. But ethnocentrism alone did not explain certain personality trends which were discernible. They found that such psychological processes as attitudes toward out-groups, toward authority figures, toward discipline and toward conventional morals were not independent, but that the nature of these attitudes in a person was a function of some characteristic mode of adjustment to conflict and hostility. Individuals who failed to show evidence of anti-Semitism, extreme ethnocentrism, rigid adherence to conventional moral codes, et cetera, were adjudged as democratic or equalitarian. Those who show the preceding, were adjudged authoritarian. A scale was devised to measure this syndrome with those on the low end of the scale being democratic.

A search was made to trace the psychogenic etiology for these opposed modes of perceiving the world. The findings, in a vastly shortened form,

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When individuals who scored low on the authoritarian scale reflected on their childhood and their parents, it was clear that as a group they were brought up in an environment of intelligible and mild discipline. in an atmosphere of genuine affection and respect for the child as an individual. The parents tended to see their role as giving guidance and support. The child was allowed to express disagreement and hostility without a fear of retaliation and/or loss of love, there was not an undue emphasis on obedience. Such a climate helped the child to work out his dependence-independence conflict without the piling up of aggression that Maslow says emerges in later life and is directed against younger or weaker people. The child of such parents is enabled to view his parents more objectively, is affectionate toward them and is able to speak of his parent's faults without necessarily rejecting them. This quality of being able to view their parents objectively is generalized to other people in other situations thus the child can be said to be tolerant, to be democratic.

Since the child is free to express his affect or feeling tone, modified perhaps to suit the situation, there normally is a genuineness of affect in his relations with others. There is a minimum need for repression, projection, and the other defenses common to the authoritarian personality.

Since the child in the more democratic home could express some of his id impulses without fear of retaliation, especially sexual and aggressive ones, he is less ready to condemn others on moral grounds.

In later life he is said to be more ego-integrated.

This healthy identification with the parents resulted in an internalization of principles of behavior rather than a compulsive conformity to rules. Thus the democratic person is enabled to allow for a variability of behavior both in himself and in others. Such a person has an understanding of the sociological and psychological causation relating to the conduct of individuals and groups though this does not necessarily lead to a better personal adjustment on the part of the less autocratic person.

There is, however, a rigidity in the more equalitarian person that otherwise is only typical of the high scorers, and that is over-identification with those who might be classed as the under-dog. Thus he may have a tendency to excuse, to minimize the actions of a particular sub-group as the juvenile delinquent.

Another characteristic of the typical equalitarian is the relative lack of concern for status and prestige. His attitude toward authority is that he accepts or concedes authority on a functional basis as a necessity for seeing a job or activity through to completion.

At the other end of the scale, when the childhood of the highly authoritarian individual was considered, the most striking feature was the parental demand for obedience. Discipline as well as rigorous adherence to rules were insisted upon. Expression of libidinal strivings were punished. The investigators say of this: (2:232)

The individual who has been forced to give up basic pleasures and to live under a system of rigid restraints, and who therefore feels put upon, is likely not only to seek an object upon which he can 'take it out' but also to be particularly annoyed at the idea that another person is 'getting away with something.'"

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The child submits to, rather than accepts and understands the harsh and rigid forms of discipline.

These parental attitudes and pressures affect the development of the child in a number of characteristic ways. His normal aggressions are increased due to the frustrations or barriers imposed upon his spontaneity, upon the expressions of his struggles for freedom and independence.

These feelings become dangerous because to express them would threaten his relationship to his parents. Since he is quite dependent on his parents for food, clothing, shelter, affection, et cetera, these impulses are repudiated and pushed out of consciousness. Because of their dynamic nature, however, the child's ego has to resort to a number of defense mechanisms that form an enduring pattern in his adult life. Some examples of these mechanisms follow:

Underlying hostile and rebellious impulses, held in check by fear, lead the subject to overdo in the direction of respect, obedience, gratitude and the like. This is called the authoritarian-submission variable by the authors. Fear of punishment by external authorities rather than a desire to conform to his own assimilated principles determines his behavior. Shame, not guilt, keeps him on the right path. This is also one of the dynamic causes for the typical authoritarian attitude of conventionalism.

Conventionalism implies rigid adherence to the prevalent behavioral values, paired with a violent denunciation of anyone who transgresses them or lives by different standards. This includes moral values and it is not only that the authoritarian must condemn the moral laxness that he

sees in others, but he is actually driven to see immoral attributes in them whether this has a basis in fact or not. This apparently is a further device for countering his own inhibited tendencies. It is in effect as if he were saying: "I am not bad and deserving of punishment, he is." (2:233) The individual's own unacceptable impulses are projected onto other individuals and groups who are in turn rejected. The force that is also behind the rejection of outgroups is provided by the hostility originally directed against the parents.

Typical of the authoritarian person is his anti-intraceptive attitude, his disinclination to look into motivations behind behavior. In
doing so, he might learn of himself and his ego is too weak to accept the
feelings that are his under his defense mechanisms.

The emotional life which this person regards as proper and a part of himself is likely to be very limited, so the libidinal impulses, especially those of a sexual and aggressive nature which remain unconscious and ego-alien are likely to be strong and turbulent. Though his aggressive impulses may be repressed, if his external authorities to whom he is overly obedient lend their approval to aggression, then it may take the most violent forms, and it may persist after the conventional values, in the name of which it was undertaken, have been lost from sight. He is psychologically unable to attack any ingroup authority, even though he is not intellectually confused regarding the source of his frustration.

There is also a feeling of unbearable aloneness and powerlessness against which the high scorers' sado-masochistic strivings are a defense.

This sense of isolation and insignificance, which is deeply unconscious,

is frequently hidden behind an illusion of eminence and competence.

Against the deep feeling of powerlessness and weakness, the authoritarian ego has built an outward display of toughness and power. He is disposed to view people only in terms of such categories as powerful-powerless, strong-weak, dominant-submissive. He has a deep contempt for those who to him are weak and he wants to dominate them. At the same time he loves and admires the strong and wants to submit to them. To him power is identical with domination, not with ability.

"From the psychiatric point of view, a psychically normal person is one who is in harmony with himself and with his environment. He conforms with the cultural requirements or injunctions of his community."

(16:372) From this point of view, lest the reader be misled, the democratic or equalitarian person is not always the healthy, normal and well adjusted person and the authoritarian person always the maladjusted or neurotic. This is true for in our western culture there is considerable demand for behavior and attitudes that would make the authoritarian type of person function more smoothly and in better harmony with his environment. On the other hand, many equalitarians within whom the feelings of aggression, of dependency and of weakness are close to consciousness may react intrapunitively with excessive self-blame, anxiety and other neurotic symptoms.

The California investigators presented a considerable body of data, mostly from interviews and projective test protocols, in support of the repressed aggression hypothesis. They have not, however, found much unambiguous evidence for the existence of the punitive parent causing all the difficulties. However, some independent studies cast some light

on this point. At the pre-school level, Sears (41:5, 6) reports that parental overcontrol resulted in a diminution of interpersonal overt aggression but that the most punished child showed the greatest amount of doll-play aggression. This, however, does not clearly demonstrate the connection between doll-play aggression and authoritarianism thirty-forty years later.

Harris, Gough and Martin (35:169, 182) also suggest that parental punitiveness is one of the many factors producing authoritarianism in children. Mussen, (39:423-44) working with eight to fourteen-year-old boys, comes to substantially the same conclusion and Huffman (47) found that authoritarian college students strongly favored a 'spare the rod, spoil the child' approach. This evidence suggests that there is a relationship between parental authoritarianism and offspring authoritarianism and reflects favorably upon the theory of origin of authoritarianism proposed by Adorno and his associates.

Parental punitiveness and authoritarianism is perhaps not the only source. Christie and Garcia (7) and Prothro and Melinkian (20) in separate studies found that a social climate characterized by narrow range of ideology and one that is relatively authoritarian may also contribute.

Thus it may be said that authoritarianism is a learned response, learned especially in the home but also from teachers and society in general. It may be said that authoritarianism begats authoritarianism.

The first portion of this chapter dealt with the early school leaver: the type of home from which he came, his age, grade attainment,

reasons for leaving school, employment history, attitude toward school, the number that are delinquent, their attitude toward authority figures as represented by the police and by the teacher, attitude of teacher toward student's behavior problems. The latter portion of the chapter dealt with the concepts of authoritarian and democratic personality structures. An outline was made of the thinking and research that has been done regarding the underlying dynamic forces and the manifestations of the two character types.

The next chapter describes the methodology set up in investigating the relationship between authoritarianism and early school leaving.

CHAPTER TIT

METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURE

Introduction

A search of the literature gives some evidence that the early school leaver dislikes school; that he rebels against teacher and parent authority and that attitude toward authority is a characteristic mode of adjustment to conflict and hostility; that this in turn is a component of the authoritarian personality.

The problem of securing evidence of attitude, though not easy and not always valid, is distinctly possible. Attitudes are generally measured by opinions expressed or endorsed by the person being tested or observation of the person's reactions to various stimuli. These methods may be divided into two classifications; the direct and the indirect. In the direct method the type of response is usually obvious to the subject who is being tested (e.g. Do you believe American troops should defend Formosa if attacked by Communist China?) The indirect method tends to circumvent this problem by hiding the purposes of the investigation within the framework of plays, games, picture interpretations, questions that on the surface have no connection with the problem at hand, et cetera. The major criticism of the direct method is that the answers are easily distorted, the testee giving the socially accepted response or one that he feels he should give to please the investigator. The

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major criticisms of the indirect method are poor correlations with other methods, inaptitude for statistical comparisons, and validity of results.

Remmers points out that in order to measure attitude, the following assumptions must be made: (26:7)

"... that attitudes are measurable, that they vary along a linear continuum and that measurable attitudes are common to the group, that they are held by many people. Limitations of attitude measurements not implicit in these assumptions include the fact that they may be temporary and changeable and subject to rationalization and deception.

However, it is very important to be able to measure and identify attitudes and the intensity of these attitudes. If they are understood, the person's reaction to various stimuli can be predicted and some method developed to change any socially unacceptable ones.

In interviewing, respondent motivation has to be seriously considered. Why does a person agree to be interviewed? The writer began with the assumption that all human behavior is goal-oriented, that an individual behaves in a specific way because he perceives such behavior to be consistent with certain goals. Thus the task is to define the situation in a manner that relates the interview to certain goals the respondent is known, or suspected to have and this lends to the interview a positive value for the respondent.

If the research, as in the present case, is to be one where the respondent is chosen on a sampling basis to represent a larger population, the interviewer must approach a respondent who has no previous knowledge of the project or any scientific interest in it.

In such situations the respondent's first reaction is likely to be a compound of curiosity and perhaps an adherence to the social norm of

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minimal politeness. If the interview can be obtained, it is then incumbent upon the interviewer to change the curiosity and/or politeness to an attitude of cooperation.

For some parts of the population, the customary manner of reaction to authority figures may do much to determine the initial reaction to a request for an interview and what takes place during the interview.

Thus, the interviewer may or may not gain access to a respondent because he (the interviewer) is perceived as an individual, or as a representative of an agency possessing authority and the interview may or may not be a valid one because of this reaction to authority figures.

In this study, the foregoing was considered in selecting methods of determining attitude and is obtaining interviews with the members of the sample involved. The exact methods and instruments used will be enlarged upon later in this chapter.

Selection of the Sample

Both sexes were represented in the sample. No attempt was made to control race or religion. The minimum age was sixteen since this is the legal age for leaving school voluntarily. All had attended or were attending school in the Detroit Public School System.

The sample drawn from the above group was composed of (1) an experimental group, all of whom have left school prior to graduation from the twelfth grade and (2) a control group selected from those remaining in school.

Experimental group. This group was from a population who had been attending school as of June 1953, but at the time of enrollment for the second semester in February 1954, were not on the rolls of any of the twenty-two area high schools that make up the high schools of the Detroit public school system. These youths are considered to have dropped out during the Fall semester 1953. Thus, all were over sixteen, but none had completed the twelfth grade. Of the total number of drop-outs of that period, a stratified selected sample of sixty-five was drawn. They were stratified in the sense that each school represented a proportionate subdivision of the whole. The actual number interviewed, however, amounted to forthy-three since some of the original sample were in the armed forces, had moved from the city, were truant from home, or were in confinement, et cetera.

Control group. This group was from a population enrolled in school in the spring term of 1955 in the twenty-two high schools of the public school system. They were individually matched with persons in the experimental group in:

Sex

Color

Age within six months

Intelligence within the same letter group

High School

Socio-economic level as determined by father's occupation and as classified by the Dictionary of Occupational Titles into the various divisions of: professional, technical managerial; clerical

and sales; service; agriculture, fisheries and kindred occupations; skilled; semi-skilled; unskilled. (13:IX)

Rationale for the Sampling. Stratified sampling is defined by
Adkins as: (1:278) "The selection of a sample by dividing a large group
into smaller sub-groups on the basis of characteristics likely to affect
results and taking a proportional number of cases from each sub-group."

It was thought necessary to obtain youths in the larger sample from each
of the schools (sub-groups) so that all of the socio-economic groups
would have a chance of being represented. Although Detroit has no type
of segregation in the schools, there is a tendency for all those in one
school (except for certain of the trade and vocational schools) to be
drawn from the same socio-economic group and even from the same race and
religion, since the members of various ethnic, religious and racial
groups tend to live in the same general neighborhood.

Rationale for Matching of the Two Groups. In order to hold certain variables constant that are or are thought to affect school leaving, it was deemed necessary to match the experimental and control groups on the above mentioned variables in order to mitigate the effect of the variable.

Among the reasons to support this are:

Sex - slightly more boys than girls leave school early and since there might be a sex 'role' or a docility variable involved in leaving, the groups were matched. (43:1)

Color - matched by skin color to offset any sub-cultural encouragement or lack of encouragement factors or any claim to bias in grading. (17:159)

Age within six months - to discount any maturational factor that may be present in holding youth in school. (43:16)

Intelligence within the same letter group - many investigators indicate that those of less capacity drop out of school because they cannot compete. (34:73) (40:549)

High school - so that the compared members would have the same school administrators, chances of having the same teacher and because this is presumed to be a method of securing a reasonable similarity of social background. (38:53)

Father's occupation within the major divisions as outlined by the <u>Dictionary of Occupational Titles</u> - Bell (4:58, 93) and other investigators make much of the influence of the father's occupation and therefore his income on early school leaving. Thus in order to hold this variable constant, each member of the experimental group was matched to one in the control group in terms of father's occupation.

Description of the Sample

A total of eighty-six subjects were studied. Of these, forty-six were males and forty were females. Twelve Negro males and eight Negro females were in the group. Their intelligence as measured by the Detroit General Aptitude Examination varied from an I.Q. of more than 118 to an I.Q. of less than 82. Exact distribution of intelligence is shown in Chapter IV, Analysis of the Data.

Ages by year only: (See analysis of data for mean age)

Age by year	Number	Percent
16 t h	38	44.2
17 th	28	32.6
18th	20	23.2
Total	86	100.00

In relation to major divisions as indicated in the Dictionary of Occupational Titles, the vocations of the parents of the youths in the sample were representative of all categories from Professional, Technical, Managerial to Unskilled Occupations except for the category Agriculture and kindred occupations which was not represented. One category was added to those given in the Dictionary of Occupational Titles. This was to include those subjects in the sample whose father had died and the family was being helped through a state grant known as Aid to Dependent Children.

Methodology

In the introduction to this chapter, it was indicated that respondent motivation had to be seriously considered in getting the youth of the experimental group to not only allow themselves to be interviewed but to take an active, interested part in the interview so as to increase the validity of the findings. Thus the letter requesting the interview tried to define the situation in a manner which related the interview to certain goals the respondent had or was suspected to have. In conformance with this knowledge, all letters were printed on the letterhead

See Appendix A.

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stationery of the Mayor's Committee on Children and Youth in the hope that the prestige of this committee would prove motivating. Too, because of the committee's relationship with the Mayor of Detroit, the youth might think that certain conditions would improve if he would only tell of these conditions. Each respondent was offered one dollar and carfare as an incentive. Because it was felt that their goals included a job, this was mentioned in the letter as part of the subject matter of the interview. Accompanying the letter was a post card that allowed the prospective interviewee to choose the day and time of interview plus an alternate day and time if his first choice could not be worked into the master schedule.

Interviewing procedure was semi-structured; a set of questions was asked, and the responses recorded by the investigator. The questions asked were to serve two major purposes. First they were to translate the research objectives into specific questions, the answers to which would provide the data necessary to test the hypothesis. To achieve this, each question must convey the idea, and each question must obtain responses which can be analyzed so that the results fulfill the research objective. The questions should be such that the responses cannot be readily distorted. Too, in asking a question of the respondent, we assume that the respondent possess an attitude, or opinion, or piece of knowledge. The questions, therefore, should be constructed so as to elicit a response which reflects each respondent's position.

See Appendix B.

The second function of the semi-structured interview is to assist the interviewer in motivating the respondent to communicate the required information. This involves content that is related to interests or goals which the respondent already has and to relieve anxieties which the interviewee may have in regard to his own ability to play the role of interviewee effectively.

Direct questions as to attitude toward authority were posed to the respondent, as were questions concerning rowdyism, the 'get tough' policy recently adopted by the police, jobs held, wages, ultimate vocational goal, et cetra. A number of the questions were included as distractors, and are not included in the results. These questions were used primarily to establish a working relationship with the youth. The particular distractor questions were selected because it was felt that they involved youths' goals. A copy of the questions asked appear in the appendix, but it is to be remembered that these questions were not necessarily asked in the rotation as given, nor were they necessarily couched in exactly the same language as stated there. Concerning attitude towards authority, instead of the word authority being used, the terms boss or bossy were used since it was felt that the word authority or authoritarianism might not be so meaningful.

In direct questioning, it is very possible for the testee to distort his answers, to give a socially accepted response, or one that he feels will please the investigator. An attempt was made to circumvent this problem by hiding, at one stage of the investigation, the purpose of the

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investigation within the framework of questions that on the surface had no connection with attitude towards authority figures. This was done by administering the 'F Scale constructed by Adorno, et al, modified only to the extent that one item (that concerning the return to power in German of pre-war officials) was omitted from the scale.

This questionnaire was completed by the interviewee without the questions being asked by the investigator. This scale was selected because it was thought that it would be a subtle approach to revealing underlying, "real" attitudes.

The authors of this scale, in speaking of the variables involved in the authoritarian personality and the variable of authoritarian submission in particular, say: (2:232)

"... authoritarian submission was commonly a way of handling ambivalent feelings toward authority figures: underlying hostile and rebellious impulses, held in check by fear, lead the subject to overdo in the direction of respect, obedience, gratitude and the like.

In speaking of authoritarian-aggression, the authors continue, saying: (2:232, 233)

The individual who has been forced to give up basic pleasures and to live under a system of rigid restraints, and who therefore feels put upon, is likely not only to seek an object upon which he can 'take it out' but also is particularly annoyed at the idea that another person is 'getting away with something.' . . . It is to be expected, therefore, that the conventionalist who cannot bring himself to utter any real criticism of accepted authority will have a desire to condem, reject, and punish those who violate these values. . . .

One might say that in authoritarian aggression, hostility that was originally aroused by and directed toward ingroup authority is displaced onto outgroups. . . it must be emphasized that

See Appendix D.

according to the present theory of displacement, the authoritarian must, out of an inner necessity, turn his aggression against outgroups. He must do so because he is psychologically unable to attack ingroup authorities, rather than because of intellectual confusion regarding the source of his frustrations.

It would appear from this that the authoritarian, though not confused as to the source of his frustration, is not able to express his hostility towards the authority which caused the frustration, and will be docide before all authority, and aggressive towards any out-group. He will tend towards toughness and cynicsm and tend to dichotomize all people and things into good or bad, right or wrong.

This writer in effect, then, wishes to establish the validity of this construct concerning the authoritarian personality by conducting an investigation. Stevens (27:47) in commenting on the present predicament in validating measures of intervening variables, suggests that we are now dealing largely with what he calls "indicants," related by unknown laws to the psychological dimensions in which we are really interested. We observe verbal or written statements and infer attitude. He goes on to say: (27:48)

The difference, then, between an indicant and a measure is just this: the indicant is a presumed effect or correlate bearing an unknown (but usually monotonic) relationship to some underlying phenomenon, whereas a measure is a scaled value of the phenomenon itself. Indicants have the advantage of convenience. Measures have the advantage of validity.

Unfortunately there is no direct access to the underlying phenomenon. It appears that investigators shall always observe indicants, for one cannot really watch the attitude at work since attitude is not the acting but the predisposition to act. Consequently, direct measurement of attitudes, though desirable, is not possible; and the

complicated and sometimes doubtful procedure of predicting from the measure and then testing the prediction must be followed.

In this inquiry, in predicting from the measure, i.e. the 'F' Scale, the high scorers will be docile not only before their parents,. but before their teachers and the police. The authoritarians in the sample will condemn rowdyism since they feel that someone may be "getting away with something." The high scoring members of either group will support a "get tough" policy with rowdies and delinquents since they are given toward toughness and aggression if the aggression is socially approved by authority figures. Too, those who have an authoritarian personality will not feel that a "get tough" policy would be effective since they are cynical and because they dichotomize and thus will tend to feel that the rowdy and the delinquent are all bad or weak and getting tough would not change them. Thus the indicants (docility, projection, aggression, cynicism, tendency to dichotomize) that presumably correlate with the underlying phenomenon called authoritarian personality will yield a means of predicting from the measure.

Administration of the 'F' Scale

The 'F' Scale was administered individually to each subject directly after being interviewed. The interviewee read the sample item and when the investigator was satisfied that the subject understood the directions, the interviewee proceeded with the rest of the scale.

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Each scale was checked for completeness prior to breaking contact with the subject.

Scoring of the 'F' Scale

Likert's (7:15) simplified version of scaling was used in the scoring of the 'F' scale. This consists of eliciting the degree of agreement or disagreement with an attitudinal statement ranging in six step intervals from "disagree very much" to "agree very much." The actual steps and weights used were:

Adjective description	Weight
Disagree very much	1
Disagree pretty much	2
Disagree a little	3
Agree a little	4
Agree pretty much	5
Agree very much	6

Of the Likert method, Jahoda says: (7:15)

The Authoritarian Personality actually used the Likert technique. This was an appropriate choice . . . in the Likert scale, items can be included which need not be related in an overt and logical manner to the attitude to be tested. . . . The entire approach is served much better by the greater psychological flexibility of the Likert technique.

Judging the Interview Responses

The purpose in using judges was twofold, (1) to serve as an objective means of categorizing interview responses and (2) as a separate measure of the presence or absence of hostility toward authority held by the subjects in the sample. Two qualified judges known for their interest in and knowledge of the variables under study were selected: Mr. Russell

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Patterson, Chairman, Highland Park Guidance Center and Mr. Peter Fotio,
Counselor, Veterans Administration Guidance Center, Highland Park, Michigan.
These persons were professionally ethical, trained and experienced.

During the personal interview, the respondents replies were recorded as nearly verbatim as possible. The questions and answers were rerecorded on separate cards, none being identified as to the name, sex, color or age of the interviewee. From the responses given by the subjects in the sample, the judges placed each subject into one of three categories: (1) seemingly hostile toward authority figures, (2) seemingly not hostile toward authority figures, (3) too ambivalent to categorize.

This content analysis as used by the judges is considered a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication. Its use is to audit communication content against objectives and to identify the intentions and other characteristics of the respondents to determine the psychological states of these communicators. Berelson quotes Janis as saying: (5:15)

Content analysis may be defined as referring to any technique for the classification of sign-vehicles; which relies solely upon the judgments -- which, theoretically, may range from perceptual discriminations to sheer guesses -- of an analyst or group of analysts as to which sign-vehicles fall into which categories.

Berelson continues, saying: (5:90)

On the assumption that communication content 'expresses' or reflects... some students have used it as an index to attitudes, interests, values, mores of the population.

In content analysis, careful definitions of categories and judicious selection of indicators forestall the major problems of validity.

Actual instructions to the judges were:

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- 1. Read a few of the cards whereon the responses of the respondents are given. Without any attempt to categorize the subject, decide on some indicators or some criteria which will assist you in ascertaining whether the respondent is or is not hostile toward authority.
- 2. Constantly bearing in mind the indicators formulated in step 1, and doing each card separately, place all those that would seem to indicate that the respondent was hostile toward authority figures in the envelope marked 'C'; all those who do not exhibit hostility toward authority figures in envelope 'A'; those which show marked ambivalence or ones who you are unable to categorize as being either hostile or not hostile toward authority in the envelope marked 'B'.

Data Regarding Delinquency

Studies concerned with causes of delinquency frequently mention hostility toward society, subconscious retaliation toward parents, rebelliousness in general, et cetera. Lippman states flatly: (37:24) "Delinquency is an outlet for hostility engendered in a people that is either subjugated or has been deprived of gratifications which are vitally needed." Implied in this is that the child has not been allowed to express certain needs, that libidinal strivings have been completely repressed, that the child has been forced to do the bidding of his parents and/or others.

Cohen (8:15) in reviewing theories of delinquency, outlines the paychoanalytic explanation as saying that the delinquent differs from the non-delinquent in that the delinquent is in possession of an unusually imperious Id or a faulty Ego or Superego development. This imperfect mastery of the Id or imperfect Ego-Superego development being the result of faulty training or parental neglect. Since Superego development is primarily a family matter and since delinquency may be a reaction to subjugation or something a little less stringent than the term 'subjugation' connotes, the writer desired to investigate whether the delinquent drop-out and the delinquent non drop-out showed any greater hostility toward authority than the non-delinquent.

To this end, identification of who in the complete sample had a record as a juvenile delinquent was obtained from the Youth Bureau of the Detroit Police Department. The name, address, sex and color of each member of the sample was submitted to the officer in charge of records. A search was made and those with one or more delinquencies were noted. For the purposes of this study, frequency and severity of the delinquencies were not considered. If the youth had one recorded delinquency as defined in the Definition of Terms in Chapter I, he was placed in the delinquent category and statistical measures were employed to ascertain whether the delinquents as a group were more authoritarian, were more hostile toward authority figures than were the non-delinquents. Discussion of this is presented in Chapter IV.

Techniques Used in Analysis of the Data

Make-up of the sample in terms of race and sex is computed in terms of percent in the sample. Mean, standard deviation, standard error of the measure, standard error of the difference between two measures and a 't' ratio is computed to determine the significance of difference between

 the experimental and control groups in grade point average, number of organizations joined, and score on the 'F' Scale. The same statistics are also computed to determine the significance of difference between the top and bottom 27 percent of the experimental group on the 'F' Scale and in number of jobs held by the subjects in the top and bottom 27 percent. Both a biserial coefficient of correlation and a point biserial coefficient of correlation are computed on the relationship between delinquent-non-delinquent and score on the 'F' Scale. Content analysis is employed by the judges in deciding on which persons in the total sample display a hostile attitude toward authority figures and which ones do not display a hostile attitude. Agreement between the judges is measured as a percentage using chi square to determine significance of the difference.

Summary

The experimental group consisted of a selected sample of early school leavers who had dropped out of the Detroit Public School System in the fall term 1953. They all were of the legal age to do so and left voluntarily. The control group was composed of a matched sample of youths who were in school in the Spring term 1955. The groups were matched as to age within six months, color, sex, intelligence within the same letter group, school attended and socio-economic group as determined by their fathers' occupation.

Each person in each group was personally interviewed. A semistructured interview questionnaire was employed. Their responses were recorded verbatim. The Adorno, et al. 'F' Scale was administered to each member of the two groups. From the Youth Bureau of the Detroit Police Department, data was obtained as to who in the sample had a record as being a juvenile delinquent.

The next chapter on collection of the data through interviewing will speak of the problems encountered and give some verbatim answers to the questions that were designed to elicit attitude. In Chapter IV, the make-up of the sample will also be analyzed.

CHAPTER IV

COLLECTION OF DATA BY INTERVIEWING

It is the purpose of this chapter to tell of the interview proper, the problems involved and to give some verbatim statements made by some of the subjects in the sample. In addition, certain salient characteristics of the sample will be enlarged upon.

Problems Encountered in Interviewing

A major portion of the time in carrying out the inquiry was spent in securing subjects to be interviewed and in conducting the interviews. The task was fraught with frustrations but it definitely provided a learning situation for the writer. Making and breaking of appointments by the drop-out was of such frequent occurrence that the writer was forced to consider this as "normal" behavior of the age level with which he was working. Obtaining matched control subjects in the school was also difficult. Up to 300 individual records were checked in selecting each control subject. In spite of the fact that more than half of the labor force in Detroit work for the auto industry or its suppliers, the father"s occupation turned out to be the most difficult variable to equate. This was even more surprising to the writer when the socio-economic level was considered. Since more of the sample were representative of the lower socio-economic group, i.e. had parents who were laborers, factory operatives, semi-skilled and skilled workers, and since this type of worker is in demand in the auto industry, it was

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thought that the two groups could be matched in this dimension with facility. This hope was not justified.

A semi-structured interview questionnaire was used. Structuring imposed certain restrictions upon the interviewer. Some latitude in phrasing questions was permitted, with the general format standardized to permit comparison of responses. Some probing was done. This technique is regarded as desirable because the conception of attitude as a many-faceted, equivocal, subject-to-qualification type of thing, demands full exploration. Probing was not carried to excess for two reasons. First, repeated probing may only suggest dimensions that were never operative in the first place and secondly, portions of the subject matter were rather emotionally charged and repeated questioning might have destroyed whatever rapport had been established.

Rapport is universally accepted as essential to a good interview. It is assumed that people talk more in a warm friendly atmosphere. In this particular case, the additional assumption was made that attitudes are complex and not too easily verbalized and that permissiveness is essential before the attitude is elicited. The letter requesting an interview with the drop-out stressed that the subject matter to be discussed was jobs and the initial portion of the actual questioning carried this out. The interview room was located in a building that would not connect the writer with the school system. Despite these two basic safeguards, much anxiety was evidenced as to whether

the interviewer was employed by the Board of Education. When the respondents were convinced that the writer was not so employed and was not interested in why the youth left school or why he did not return to school, a definite relaxation was observed. Whether the anxiety could be attached to the invitation or to the youth's guilt feelings is not known to the writer. Establishment of rapport is rather a moot question, but if enjoyment of the interview is an inferential measure of it, then there was some evidence of rapport being a reality in the interviews conducted for the study.

The fears concerning the writer's connection with the school system, et cetera, apply only to the experimental group. The control group, having been tested and interviewed in the school so very frequently, raised no question in taking the 'F' Scale or answering questions and accepted this as a routine situation. Interviewing of the control group was done in the school, and students were released from class for this purpose.

Flavor of Respondent Attitude

The decision to talk about jobs first was a fortuitous one, because the subjects seemed eager to talk about jobs. Unemployment was rather high in the Detroit area at the time and the respondent was concerned about this. Unskilled, youthful, inexperienced laborers are probably the first to feel its effects. Many jobs are precluded to those under 18 by state law and because of workman's compensation insurance clauses. Jobs open to them are limited in terms of hazards involved, hours

worked and of course by their experience, training, ability to learn new tasks, follow directions, et cetera. When the more mature, experienced adult is thrown out of work he then competes with the younger person for the jobs available to the juvenile. This was happening at the time and caused some resentment but was also accepted rather philosophically by some. One youth said. "Why should Kroger keep me when they can get a grown man to do the work for the same money, he is bigger and older and can do more work." Some of the information gathered that concerned employment was interesting though not necessarily apropos to the inquiry. Their aspiration level as far as vocational goals were concerned was unrealistic. About 27 percent had a goal that was in the professional. technical, managerial classification. This is not only unrealistic from the standpoint of the number of people in the labor force who fall in this category but unrealistic in other ways. About 40 percent had I.Q.'s of below 90, the drop-out has not been particularly successful in school (see Table 3 and following paragraphs), they have little if any encouragement from home or from friends and most of them have not the financial means to go to college. A majority of this drop-out group (56 percent) cited lack of education as being the paramount obstacle in reaching their vocational goal. However, they do not usually secure any more formal training and when they do, it is a rather specialized course as typing, shorthand or drafting. They are usually unaware of modes of entry into occupations, know little of apprenticeships in terms of length of training, how and where to apply for this training, role of the labor union, et cetera. They have had little vocational information and

apparently feel no need for it. About two-thirds said they had had some kind of psychological testing in school (intelligence, interest, special ability, achievement) but only about 22 percent said that these tests had been interpreted.

When the interviewing got around to the questions that purported to elicit attitude toward authority, the questions concerning teachers were asked before those regarding police and parents. This was done because of the theory that questions concerning teachers would be less emotionally charged than questions concerning parents and that the respondent could speak more easily about those further in social distance. It was hoped that the interviewer would be perceived as a stranger who would never be seen again and thus one to whom a real attitude could be expressed without the situation evolving into a threatening one.

To the writer, it seemed that the interviewee had little reticence about expressing his feelings towards his teachers. One who had expressed dislike for his teachers rather heatedly said, "She bawled me out and in front of the whole class, too." Another said, "They are all bossy, they think they know everything." Another said, "They are all too tough -- away too hard." About a third of the drop-out group thought the teacher fair or friendly or qualified their statements concerning them. In speaking of liking to be around autocrats in general, the drop-out did not seem so vehement. About 30 percent were rather newtral, saying, "No, but sometimes it pays," and, "OK, I guess, if they know what they are talking about."

In attempting to ascertain attitude toward the police, more of a

dichotomy seemed to be present. The subjects either heartily disliked them or were favorably disposed toward them but seldom, if ever, were neutral. One respondent angrily said. "Can't even have a pajama party at home without the damn police butting in; if you can't even stay at home and have fun, where can you go?" A second said, "I was in a drivein and the cops came and ran us out for making too much noise and we were only just talking. When we got outside, there was a bunch of adults making more noise than we were and the cops didn't say a word to them." Generally speaking, the resentment toward the police was because the respondent felt discriminated against and because he felt that the whole "get tough" policy smacked of retaliation, not an attempt to prevent or The interviewees resented not only the police but the newspapers, the so-called experts who were being quoted and the public at large because they spoke of the whole adolescent population as being rowdies, delinquents, young gangsters, et cetera. The youth himself felt that these labels did not apply to the adolescent population as a whole.

As anticipated, expressions of hate or hostility towards parents were much less than towards teachers and police. About 25 percent of the drop-outs and about 30 percent of those who remained in school indicated that they came from more or less democratically run homes where decisions were made by both parents and the offspring's desires were considered. About half indicated that they could argue with, discuss and/or question their parent's decisions without punishment. About 10 percent of the drop-out group seemed to hate or be in fear of their parents. One said,

"I quit school but my dad doesn't know it, but my mother does; we're afraid to tell him, he'd kill me. I don't know what to do -- can't go back to school, 'cause of the kids there." Another told a rambling tale of injustice done by a foreign-born step-mother. Apparently, in order to avoid an automatic abortion, it was necessary for this step-mother to rest most, if not all of the time. To avoid causing her undue work, the subject was having his shirts laundered at his own expense. The gesture was misunderstood and the step-mother accused him of not thinking her ability to launder his shirts "good enough for him."

This apparently was the "last straw," the subject, almost shouting, cried, "I hate her, wish she'd go back to Greece -- hafta join the army to get away from her."

The foregoing paragraphs tell mostly of the hostility expressed.

There were, of course, those who expressed no such thing. Some expressed the opposite, as, "My mother is my boss -- the best boss in the world."

This subject actually worked for her mother who owned a retail floral shop. Another said, "I like all my teachers - especially my history teacher, he's so common." Another said, "Can't really blame the police, it's the parents'fault; if the kids had been brought up right they wouldn't get in trouble." Another said, "Rowdyism is everyone's fault; we need to bring Christ into their hearts."

The youth's perception of authority figures may not in all cases correspond to objective reality. Exvertheless, as one perceives a situation, so it is to him and the resulting behavior will be governed by this perception.

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The purpose of this discussion was to acquaint the reader with some of the obstacles faced by the writer and to transmit a little of the "flavor" of what transpired in the interview situation. It is unfortunate that the "feeling tone" can not also be transmitted.

Analysis of the Sample

The purpose of this section is to present an analysis of the sample used in the study. The following table gives a break-down by sex and race.

TABLE 1
SEX AND RACE OF TOTAL SAMPLE

Sex and Race	Numbers	Total
les		46
Male Whites	34	
Male Colored	12	
nales		40
Female Whites	32	
Female Colored	8	

Of the total sample, 46.5 percent were females and 53.5 percent were males. Since the total sample is divided evenly between school leavers and school non-leavers, the same ratio of male to female and white to colored obtains whether one is speaking of the experimental group or of the control group. Twenty-three percent were of the Negro race. The national average of Colored in the population is about

ten percent (28:1-87) and in Detroit about sixteen percent. (45) Thus, to represent the complete population in Detroit, the sample need contain only fourteen of the Negro race. It may well be that a higher percent of the Negro race drop out of school prior to graduation than of the Caucausian race. No figures can be obtained on this from any source in the Detroit educational system since in no record does the race of the individual appear. However, the writer has been assured by a relatively high placed worker in the school system that this is indeed a fact.

The sample apparently represents drop-outs rather than population ratio and thus the sample is not biased because there is a greater proportion of Negroes in the sample than one would expect from knowing the Negro-Caucausian ratio in the Detroit area.

Sixteen and three-tenths percent of the experimental group quit in the ninth grade, 27.9 percent quit in the tenth grade, 34.9 percent quit in the eleventh and 20.9 percent quit in the twelfth grade. This indicates that even with predominantly a 3-3 year school system that the problem of early school leaving is one with which the high school administrator must be concerned. Too, it indicates that Klein's (36:608-616) predictions are still acceptable.

Since the raw data on age of dropping out of school is rather bulky, it will not be included in this chapter. However, the mean age of the drop-out was seventeen years, one month.

About fifty-six percent of the drop-outs have I.Q.'s of ninety or more. The figure ninety can in no way be considered a cut-off score since the school system has special ungraded classes that offer training

leading to a diploma. Too, since the experimental group was matched with the control group in intelligence, this factor alone does not result in early school leaving.

TABLE 2

INTELLIGENCE OF THE SUBJECTS AS MEASURED BY THE DETROIT GENERAL APTITUDE EXAMINATION

I.Q.	Letter Group	Number	Percent
L18-over	Α	2	2.4
111-117	В	8	9.3
90-110	С	38	44.2
83-89	D	14	16.3
82-below	E	24	27.8
Total		86	100.0

Achievement in school in terms of grades, however, tells a different story. Employing a system in which a grade of A equals four points, a grade of B equals three points, C equals two points, a D one point and an E no points, the mean grade achievement of the control group, those remaining in school, was 2.22 and the mean grade point average of the drop-out group was 1.74. Utilizing the formulas for mean, standard deviation, standard error of the mean, standard error of the difference and the t ratio as found in Adkins (1:87, 95, 130), the following figures were obtained:

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TABLE 3
SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCE IN GRADE POINT AVERAGE
BETWEEN THE EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS

Experimental Group	Control Group
x = 1.74 C = .564 C _M = .08917 N = 43	$\bar{x} = 2.22$ $G = .583$ $G_{M} = .08995$ $N = 43$
	Gdiff. = .266
	t = 3.8
	p > .01

There is a statistically significant difference in grades between the control and the experimental group and this is significant at the one percent level of confidence. Those who remained in school received the better grades. But again, since each member of the drop-out group was matched to someone remaining in school, as far as intelligence is concerned, this difference in grade point average need not be due to capacity but to some other variable operating in the drop-out's life. Indeed, the mean grade point average held by the experimental group is about equal to a C minus and thus does not show that the group as a whole is failing in school.

It is interesting to note that in comparing age and capacity as in

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Table 4, below, that more of the seventeen-year-olds could be expected to accomplish the course work. Yet, it was found that '17' is the mean age of dropping out of school.

TABLE 4

AGE IN RELATION TO INTELLIGENCE (BY LETTER GROUP)

OF THE EXPERIMENTAL GROUP

Capacity	Percent
Sixteen year Olds	
A	0.0
В	2.6
C	48.6
D	22.1
E	26 . 2
Seventeen year Olds	
A	7.1
В	14.2
C	43.0
D E	14.2
E.	21.5
Eighteen year Olds	
A	0.0
В	10.0
C	40.0
D	10.0
E	40.0

TABLE 5

TYPES OF JOBS HELD BY THE PARENTS OF THE SUBJECTS

(CLASSIFIED IN RELATION TO CATEGORIES IN THE

DICTIONARY OF OCCUPATIONAL TITLES)

Category	Percent
Professional, Technical and Managerial	7.0
Clerical and Sales Occupations	2.3
Service Occupations	4.7
Agriculture and kindred occupations	0.0
Skilled Occupations	32.5
Semi-skilled Occupations	16.3
Unskilled Occupations	30.2
Unclassifiable (Aid to Dependent Children)	7.0

The socio-economic level of a family is commonly based on the occupation of the father. Whether the jobs held by the parents of the youths
in the sample are distributed about the same as all workers in the labor
force is rather difficult to ascertain.

The Bureau of the Census of the United States Government, in showing what percent of the labor force has what type of job, does not employ the major divisions as indicated in the Dictionary of Occupational Titles as such but lumps some types of jobs together and separates other types. Their classification by categories and percent of the labor force in each category follows: (28:1-102)

TABLE 6

PERCENT OF THE LABOR FORCE IN VARIOUS OCCUPATIONS
AS OF THE 1950 CENSUS

Occupation	Percent
Professional, Technical and Kindred	8.7
Farmer and Farm Manager	7.7
Managers, Officials (except farm)	8.9
Clerical and Kindred	12.3
Sales	7.0
Craftsmen and Foremen	13.8
Operatives and Kindred	19.8
Private Household Workers	2.5
Service Workers	7.6
Farm Laborers	2.6
Laborers except Farmers	6.1
Occupations not Reported	1.3

The Detroit Office of the Michigan Employment Securities Commission utilizes still another system. Their method is based on training time necessary to successfully do the job. (46)

	el of Training or erience Required	Estimated Percent Labor Force in Jobs at Each Level
1.	High (2 years or more) Professional and Technical Managerial Farmers and Farm Managers Craftsmen and Foremen Top jobs in clerical, sales and service fields	8.1 7.6 4.5 18.8 9.5 48.5
2.	Medium (3 months to 2 years) Factory production workers Middle jobs in clerical, sales and service field	11.7 9.5 21.2

Level of Training or Experience Required

Estimated Percent Labor Force in Jobs at Each Level

3. Low (less than 3 months)
Factory work, et cetera
Bottom jobs - domestic, farm, clerical,
sales, service, et cetera

13.1

17.1

Though these approaches vary, by inspection, it appears that the socio-economic level of subjects in the sample does not follow the expected distribution but the jobs held tend to be of a lower level than one would expect from knowing the actual distribution. Other investigators (4:58) also found this true. However, since the subjects in the sample were matched, the socio-economic level of the family can not necessarily be considered the deciding factor in the youth leaving school prior to completion of the twelfth grade. In addition, local and state aid is rather readily available to eligible recipients. Social welfare agencies, especially in Detroit, are also willing to assist those who can not qualify directly for state or local help.

Participation in Extra-Curricular Activities

It is said by other investigators (34:73) (43:1) (53:4) that neither the early school leaver nor the delinquent are participators. Individual members of these groups belong to few clubs or organizations as Scouts, YMCA, YWCA, Hobby Clubs, Athletic Clubs, school athletic teams or church organizations. There seems to be a lack of feeling of belongingness. The California group (2:232) speak of a masochistic component in the

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authoritarian-submission variable that partly manifests itself in a feeling of aloneness.

The subjects in this sample of early school leavers (in relation to those who remained in school) filled the role concerning not being a joiner or member of a hobby club, athletic team, et cetera. The following table shows the significance of the difference.

TABLE 7

SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONS JOINED BY THE EARLY SCHOOL LEAVER AND THE NUMBER JOINED BY THE SCHOOL NON-LEAVER

Experimental Group	p		Control Group
N = 43			N = 43
x = .465			x = 1.163
~ .788			T = 1.569
m' = .122			G. : .242
•	Gdiff. =	.271	
	t :	2.58	
	p >	.01	

The difference between the drop-out and the non-drop-out in the sample in terms of participation in extra-curricular activities of an organized nature is statistically significant at the one percent level when a

two-tailed test is employed. Since the drop-out does not enter into extra-curricular activities this may be a sympton of his "aloneness!"

In this chapter, incidents in the personal interview were discussed and the make-up of the sample was analyzed. In the following chapter, the data obtained from judges' ratings, the 'F' Scale, information concerning the number of jobs held by the experimental group members, and the relationship between delinquency and the delinquents' score on the 'F' Scale is to be analyzed.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

It is the purpose of this chapter to analyze the data gathered in carrying out the inquiry. To what extent the judges were in agreement in categorizing the members in the sample and statistical significance of these judgments is to be brought out. The significance of difference between the experimental and control groups in scores on the 'F' Scale is to be computed. Computations is also shown as to whether those of the experimental group who were judged hostile by the judges had a faster job turn-over rate than those judged not to be hostile. Too, those of the experimental group who were in the top and bottom 27 percent on the authoritarian measure are compared as to job turn-over rate. Finally, a coefficient of correlation is computed between those who have a record of being delinquent and their scores on the authoritarian scale.

Judges' Ratings of Subjects in the Sample

As an independent measurement judgements were used to differentiate between those in the sample who did or who did not express hostility toward those in authority. A third category was used also, one describing those who expressed such ambivalence that they could be judged neither hostile nor not-hostile. Content analysis was the means employed since it is a technique for auditing communication content to determine the psychological states of the communicants. In this particular study it was used on the assumption that the manifest content

of communication may reflect an attitude.

The two judges worked independently and without knowledge of the subjects in the sample other than responses to interview questions. They agreed in 68 percent of all the cases. That is, of the total sample of eighty-six subjects, both the judges put fifty-eight identical subjects in similar categories. According to Berelson (5:172) only fifteen to twenty percent of the studies using content analysis report on reliability, thus little is known of it. However, the above percent of agreement compares favorably with those cited in Berelson's book.

of the drop-outs placed in the hostile group, the judges agreed as to the particular individual, 82 percent of the time. Of the drop-outs placed in the ambivalent category, the judges agreed 43 percent of the time and of those placed in the not-hostile category, 60 percent of the time. It would seem that the judges had little difficulty determining which of the experimental group were hostile or expressed hostility toward authority figures; but they did have some difficulty agreeing on who were ambivalent toward authority figures.

The judge agreed 58 percent of the time on the persons from the control group placed in the hostile category. Of those placed in the ambivalent category, the judges agreed 75 percent of the time and of those placed in the not-hostile category, the judges agreed 83 percent of the time. It would appear that the judges had little difficulty in agreeing on those who were in the not-hostile category

but had some difficulty in agreeing on those who were to be considered hostile toward authority.

The overall picture would indicate that the judges could agree more often on placing those of the experimental group in the hostile category and those of the control group in the not-hostile category than in placing any of the subjects in the remaining categories. Inspection would indicate that as a whole, more of the drop-outs express hostility toward authority than do those who remained in school.

In situations where the members of a random sample may be classified into mutually exclusive categories, the statistic chi square is often used to determine whether the observed frequencies in these categories are consistent with some hypothesis concerning the relative frequencies in these categories in the entire population. In this instance, a null hypothesis is made and the chi square statistic is used to determine how likely it is that the sample could have diverged from the hypothesis had chance factors alone been operating.

Following Guilford (15:273ff) chi squares were computed for each of the judges and because of the size of the theoretical frequencies found, Yates correction for continuity (15:271) was applied. The following is the data used to compute the Chi square for the judgments made by Judge I. The chi square indicates a statistically significant difference at the one percent level. Judge I's ratings show a real difference and this difference can be due to chance less than one time out of one hundred times.

TABLE 8

DATA AND CHI SQUARE FROM RESULTS OBTAINED BY JUDGE I
(YATES CORRECTION FOR CONTINUITY EMPLOYED)

Category	E	k	Total
Hostile Ambivalent Not-hostile	31*(24)** 7 (7.5) 5 (11.5)	17 (24) 8 (7.5) 18 (11.5)	48 15 23
Total	43	43	86

Chi Square = 9.78

df = 2

p > .01

The judgments of Judge II also show a statistically significant difference at the one percent level. Judge II's results are even more significant than are the results obtained by Judge I.

Judge II's results are shown in Table 9, page 89.

^{*} observed frequencies
** theoretical frequencies

TABLE 9

DATA AND CHI SQUARE FROM RESULTS OBTAINED BY JUDGE II
(YATES CORRECTION FOR CONTINUITY EMPLOYED)

Category	E	k	Total
Hostile Ambivalent Not-hostile	29 (20.5) 11 (13.5) 3 (9)	12 (20.5) 16 (13.5) 15 (9)	41 27 18
Total	43	43	86

Chi Square = 13.58

df = 2

p > .01

Thus it would seem that the judges are reasonably agreed as to who in the sample express hostility toward authority, who are ambivalent and who express no hostility toward authority figures. Their decision was that those in the experimental group, the drop-outs, expressed more hostility than those who remained in school. Statistically, the judges decisions were found to be real and could be due to chance less than one time in one hundred times.

Significance of Difference in Scores on the 'F' Scale

From the data collected and following Adkins (1:87, 95, 130) the mean, standard deviation, standard error of the mean, the standard error

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of the difference and the t ratio was computed. The data used from both the experimental and control appears below.

Data Used for Computing t Ratio

Experimental Group				Control Group
x = 116.837 x = 14.950 x = 2.306 N = 43				x = 109.790 v = 14.416 v _M = 2.224 N = 43
C	DIFF	· =	3.04	
	t	=	2.31	
	p	>	•03	

Thus the 'F' scale will differentiate between the early school leaver and the school non-leaver. This difference is significant at the three percent level and one can be confident that the difference is a real one, <u>i.e.</u> that the difference can be due to chance only three times out of one hundred.

If the construct concerning the authoritarian personality as promulgated by the California group is valid, then the early school leaver, being of an authoritarian bent, should display more of the traits of the authoritarian personality than should the school non-leaver. Thus the drop-out should be more docide before authority, tending to glorify all in authority. He should obey without question and should project his aggression onto out-groups. Too, he should project his own frailties, especially those of an aggressive and/or sexual nature onto others and be ready to condemn people in general.

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Findings in the Interviews

The personal interviewing done by the writer did not clearly uphold the validity of the Adorno constructs. (See Chapter IV also.) About half of the drop-out group could question their parents' decisions and did so, no abject docility was present, little glorification of parents was ever expressed.

Most thought their teachers autocratic and expressed no fondness for them. About a third said their teachers were not bossy or offered some qualifying statement as, "No, they treat you as you treat them," or, "No, depending on your race," or, "I thought so until I lied my age and spent some time in the army." Thus they could express dislike of the teacher as an authority figure but while attending school did not necessarily show their hostility by misbehaving. A cursory examination of their records showed little disciplinary action being taken and a study of 2,987 drop-outs, done in 1952 by the Detroit Board of Education (43:4), indicated that: "Ratings in citizenship were average or better in 71 percent of the cases and below average in 29 percent. No disciplinary action was reported in 73 percent."

About 60 percent expressed much resentment toward the police and the then present "get tough" policy with juveniles. If they were resentful of others getting away with something, as one would expect if they were authoritarian as pictured by the California group, they did not express it. Rather they were much in sympathy with other juveniles. They did not necessarily project their own frailties on the rowdies and were not cynical about any favorable outcome of the "get tough" policy.

Most felt that those who were the object of police action could be helped by understanding, by assistance in obtaining employment, affection at home and other measures. Projection, however, may enter the picture in that the single mostcited reason by the subjects in this sample for the cause of the wave of rowdyism was the need for attention. The early school leaver in this sample is not a "joiner." He has little feeling of belongingness to any organization or group, he has changed schools frequently and has been considered pretty much in the out-group. Consequently, he may have projected the need for attention.

Thus, though the early school leaver is more of an authoritarian personality and should manifest the behavior as described by Adorno, et al, the writer did not necessarily find this as being clearly true.

Judges' Ratings and Employment

It was noted in the previous section concerned with judging that the judges were in agreement 82 percent of the time as to whom of the early school leavers expressed hostility. Sixty percent of the time the judges agreed as to those persons who did not express hostility toward authority. It was also concluded that the judges' ratings showed real differences when a chi square was computed.

Attitude toward authority might be reflected in job turn-over, the supervisor or foreman representing the authority. Thus it was the writer's desire to determine whether those who had been adjudged hostile had a higher job turn-over rate than did those who were considered not-hostile. The experimental group were the only ones involved since they

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were the members of the sample who had the opportunity to have fulltime jobs.

Using the data from the findings of Judge I, a t ratio was computed. The results showed a t of 1.90 which is significant at about the six percent level (p >.06). However, the writer wishes to use the 5 percent level or less as showing a real difference and thus this difference can not be considered significant though it does approach rather closely, the desired figure.

Using the data from the findings of Judge II, another t ratio was computed. This resulted in one of 1.37. This is significant at about the 20 percent level but since chance might be involved twenty times out of one hundred this figure cannot be considered as showing a significant difference.

Thus, though the judges may be able to ascertain those who are hostile and those who are not, there is no significant relationship between the hostility or lack of it and job turn-over rate. Those who are not considered resentful of authority find and lose jobs as rapidly as those who are resentful of authority.

Scores on the 'F' Scale and Employment

The analytic conception is that an individual is able to achieve independence and positive satisfaction through work.

All conflicts around authority, all struggles between rebellion and obedience, therefore, may be expressed in the attitudes toward work. (38:109):

Since any hostility or any unfavorable attitude toward employment or the

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supervisor as an authority figure might be reflected in job turn-over, the number of jobs held by those scoring in the top and bottom twenty-seven percent of the 'F' scale was investigated. This applies only to the experimental group since the group still remaining in school have not had the opportunity to obtain full-time employment.

The first consideration is whether there is a statistically significant difference between the top and bottom 27 percent in terms of scores made on the scale. Data gathered about this appears below:

TABLE 10

SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TOP AND BOTTOM
TWENTY-SEVEN PERCENT OF THE EXPERIMENTAL GROUP
ON THE "F" SCALE

Top 27%		Bot tom 27%
x = 136.833 v = 8.27 2.493 N = 12		$\bar{X} = 96.083$ $\bar{U} = 10.49$ $\bar{U}_{m} = 3.162$ $\bar{N} = 12$
	diff. = 4.026 t = 10.12 p > .01	

There is a highly significant difference between the scores made on the 'F' Scale by the top 27 percent of the experimental group and scores

made by the bottom 27 percent of that group. This is significant well beyond the one percent level.

Information concerning the number of full-time jobs held by the subjects in the sample was obtained at the time of the personal interview.

Employing the data concerning jobs for just those in the top and bottom

27 percent of the early school leavers on the 'F' Scale (the same subjects used in the above computation), the following statistic was computed:

TABLE 11

SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCE IN NUMBER OF JOBS HELD BY THOSE
OF THE EXPERIMENTAL GROUP IN THE TOP AND BOTTOM
TWENTY-SEVEN PERCENT OF THE 'F' SCALE

Top 27%	Bo ttom 27%
\bar{x} = 2.000	\(\overline{\mathbb{X}} = 1.416
- 1. 29	σ ₌ .641
m'= .388	√ n • 193
N = 12	N = 12
(diff. = .433
	t : 1.3 5
	b > To

There is a statistically significant difference between the top and bottom 27 percent on the 'F' Scale. However, the difference in number of

jobs held by the same two groups is significant only at the ten percent level. Thus, it would seem that the job turn-over rate of the most authoritarian of the early school leavers as against the least authoritarian of the early school leavers is not particularly significant, that the difference could be due to chance about ten times out of one hundred times.

Delinquency

Delinquency was thought to be a proper matter into which to inquire since it is considered by some (37:24) as an outlet for hostility. Of the complete sample, fourteen had violated one or more of the laws of Michigan. They had been detected by the police and this was made a matter of record at the Police Youth Bureau. Of the total, seven were males and seven were females, four of the males and four of the females were early school leavers and three of the boys and three of the girls remained in school.

Only about 2.7 percent (45) of our juvenile population are considered delinquents whereas there are about sixteen percent of the sample in this category. Usually about four times as many boys get in difficulty with the law as do girls in the Detroit area (53:1) but in this sample, there was an equal number. Too, there are about as many delinquents in the group that remained in school as in the group that left school prior to graduating, which would not be indicated according to Killion's study. (50:53)

The relationship between scores made on the 'F' Scale by the

delinquent and scores made on the same scale by the non-delinquent was also made part of this inquiry. A biserial coefficient of correlation was employed since the variables delinquent-non-delinquent, as used, is a dichotomy. The formula used is that which is cited by Guilford (15:324) in his book on <u>Fundamentals in Statistics</u>.

$$\mathbf{r}_{b} = \frac{\mathbf{M}_{p} - \mathbf{M}_{q}}{\mathbf{\sigma}_{t}} \quad \mathbf{X} \quad \mathbf{pq}$$

where Mp = mean of X values for the higher group in the dichotomous variable

M_o = mean of X values for the lower group

p = proportion of the cases in the higher group

q = proportion of the cases in the lower group

y = ordinate of the normal distribution curve with surface equal to 1.00, at the point of division between segments containing p and q proportions of the cases

c t = standard deviation of the total sample in the continuously
measured variable, X.

Data Used for Biserial Correlation

 $M_p = 116.0714$ $M_q = 112.7777$ Pq/y = .5524 0 t = 14.932

Substituting in the above formula, a biserial correlation of .1207 was found. Though this is positive and in the right direction, the size of the correlation is such that it would indicate that scores on the 'F' Scale are not highly related to delinquency and that the scale cannot be used as a measure to predict delinquency.

When it is doubtful that the dichotomous one of two variables stems from a normal distribution as might be the case in the variable

delinquent-non-delinquent, then a point biserial coefficient of correlation might be the more appropriate statistic to use. This also was done. The formula used was that given by Guilford (15:329):

$$r_{pbi} = \frac{M_p - M_q}{C_t}$$

Substituting in this formula, a point biserial coefficient of correlation of .0801 was found. This, too, though positive and in the right direction is so low as to be unusable.

Summary

Judges ratings indicated that those who dropped out of school early expressed more hostility toward authority than did those who remained in school. The ratings showed a statistically significant difference.

The 'F' Scale also could discriminate between those who left school before graduation and those who remained in school. The drop-outs were more of an authoritarian personality than were those who continued in school. This difference was also statistically significant.

It was thought that perhaps the hostility held by those in the experimental group might generalize to the job situation and result in greater job turn-over. However, this could not be shown to be true.

Neither those deemed hostile by the judges nor those measured as being authoritarian showed any statistically significant greater job turn-over than those who were considered not-hostile by the judges or measured as

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equalitarian by the 'F' Scale.

It was also thought that perhaps those of the complete sample who had a recorded delinquency might have such an amount of underlying hostility that they would score high on the 'F' Scale. However, correlation techniques failed to show any relationship between delinquency and score on the scale.

The next chapter is to summarize the complete paper and draw conclusions. Suggestions for further study will also be made.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The Problem

This study was designed to inquire into the relationship between early school leaving and attitude toward authority figures. Five null hypotheses were proposed to test the relationship.

The basic inspiration for this study was suggested by the seeming hostility toward certain authority figures noted by the writer in interviewing drop-outs for the Mayor's Committee on Children and Youth of the City of Detroit. The interviewing was being done to explore community responsibility to out-of-school youth. At the time, there was a wave of rowdyism, and rather severe measures were being taken by those in authority to change this condition. Trouble was in the air, certainly, but the real question was whether the expressed hostility was merely a passing thing, a response to the situation as of the moment or a deep-seated, characteristic mode of response to authority in general and whether this hostility was peculiar to those who quit school prior to graduation or whether this attitude encompassed all the youth, whether they were in or out of school.

Sampling and Methodology

The drop-outs studied were a selected sample of youth who

had left school during the fall term, 1953. All were of a legal age to leave and all had done so voluntarily. Previous studies concerned with drop-outs suggested that general intelligence, family income and race were causative and/or influential factors in the youth leaving school prior to graduation. Too, that there is a sex difference, that a drop-out pattern may be established among siblings in the same femily and that the drop-out has no sense of "belongingness" in the school and that he is not a participator in school events or extra-curricular activities. Since age, sex, race, income of father and intelligence are considered causative and/or influencing factors, these had to be considered. Thus, in selecting the control group (those who were attending school) each member was so selected so as to match an individual in the experimental group in age within six months, sex, race, intelligence within same letter group, school attended, and family income in so far as the parent's occupation determines the family income.

For the purpose of objectivity, judges were employed to decide on those in the complete sample who expressed or were seemingly hostile toward authority figures including their parents, teachers and the police. As a measure of reliability and in order to utilize a more subtle approach to the measurement of attitude than direct questioning, the Adorno, et al 'F' Scale was administered. This particular scale was selected since the authors claim that those who score high on the scale (have an authoritarian personality) were brought up under such strict discipline that they harbor much hostility towards their parents. They may not be able to express the hostility since this would

threaten their relationship with their parents upon whom they must depend for their support. This hostility may generalize to parent surrogates as teachers and police.

It is commonly accepted that faulty or "bad" interpersonal relationships are by far the greatest cause of job turn-over. Work is usually a more directed and exacting activity than youth experienced in school. A new relationship is established at work, with the foreman taking the place of the teacher and the fellow worker taking the place of the fellow student. Meadows points out that: (38:109) "All conflicts around authority, all struggle between rebellion and obedience, . . . may be expressed in the attitude toward work." If this is true, then job turn-over as an indication of attitude toward work and the foreman as an authority figure might tend to reveal the presence or absence of hostility toward authority figures. Since only those of the experimental group have had an opportunity to obtain full-time employment, the top and bottom 27 percent of this group was utilized in investigating whether job turn-over and hostility were related.

It is also commonly accepted that delinquent acts are frequently an expression of hostility either displaced or direct and oftimes subconscious retaliation against the parents. Those in the sample who had committed some delinquent act were ascertained. Statistical steps were taken to determine the relationship between delinquency and hostility as measured.

The Findings

Hypothesis (1). There is no significant difference in attitude toward authority of the early school leaver and school non-leaver as determined by judges from the youth's responses to specific questions. Computation showed that the judges could reliably categorize the subjects as: expressing hostility, or not expressing hostility, or being ambivalent toward authority. The results were statistically significant that the drop-out expressed more hostility than did those who remained in school. Thus the hypothesis was rejected.

Hypothesis (2). There is no significant difference in attitude toward authority of the school leaver and the school non-leaver as indicated by their scores on an authoritarian scale. Computation showed that there was a significant difference between the drop-out and the non-drop-out as far as score on the 'F' Scale is concerned. Thus, this hypothesis was also rejected.

However, the verbal expression and physical behavior of the drop-out, those who have an authoritarian personality as measured by the 'F' Scale, do not clearly conform to the predicted behavior proposed by the authors of the scale.

This does not necessarily imply that the validity of the constructs underlying the authoritarian personality are questionable. The author of <u>Frustration and Aggression</u> (12) indicates that the strongest instigation aroused by frustration is to an act of aggression directed against the agent perceived to be the source of frustration. However, the strength of this instigation to aggression may vary depending upon the identity

of the frustrating agent and whether or not this agent is in position to mete out punishment. Thus, when the writer found that the early school leaver could express much hostility toward the teacher rather than to glorify her as an authority figure or to obey her without question, it may be because now having left school the teacher, the frustrating agent, is no longer perceived as being in position to carry out any punishment since the youth has left the "field." Thus, he can express his resentment without fear of retaliation. This may also explain why around 40 percent could not or did not express much resentment toward the police. Perhaps there is a realization that they are still under the dominion of our law-enforcing agencies and that these agencies are capable of punishing law violators. About three-quarters of the dropouts indicated that they came from a home where one or the other of the parent was definitely the boss. About half indicated that they questioned their parents' decision without extreme retaliatory measures being taken, that they did "argue" with their parents and that they resented strict demands for obedience. The number that expressed extreme dissatisfaction with the home and expressed very much hostility toward their parents because of demands made upon them amounted to about 10 percent of the sample. Here again, the drop in the number who could express hostility might be because the parent as an authority is still in position to carry out punishment. Thus, though those classified as having an authoritarian personality by virtue of their score on the *F* Scale did not exhibit much docility and did question the decisions of authority figures, it might be because the authority as perceived,

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had less and less chance to administer punishment. Thus, the drop-out expressed more hostility toward teachers than toward police and expressed resentment toward both of these more than parents.

Hypothesis (3). For the early school leavers, there is no significant difference in the number of jobs held by those judged to be hostile toward authority figures and those judged not to be hostile toward authority figures. The computation in Chapter IV indicated that those adjudged hostile did not change jobs significantly more rapidly than those adjudged not-hostile. The judges did not agree 100 percent of the time as to who was or was not hostile, but since the statistics showed that neither of the judges had picked subjects that were hostile yet had numerous jobs as against those said to be not-hostile that held few jobs, the hypothesis cannot be rejected.

The state of the economy and the accompanying employment and unemployment plays a part in job turn-over. If labor is not in demand then those who have jobs tend not to voluntarily leave them even though they may not be satisfied with their employment or their employers.

On the other hand, if jobs are plentiful and there is some assurance of another one, then the employee may readily leave. It is generally agreed upon, however, that the single biggest cause of job turn-over is "inability to get along with fellow man." Thus, though it was thought by the writer that those who resented authority would be less able to get along with their supervisors and thus quit, the inquiry did not support this. The hypothesis, in this case, the null hypothesis, could not be rejected.

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Hypothesis (4). For the early school leavers, there is no significant difference in the number of jobs held by those ranking in the top and bottom twenty-seven percent of an authoritarian scale.

Computation in the chapter on analysis of the data showed that there was a statistically significant difference between the scores made by the top 27 percent and the bottom 27 percent on the 'F' Scale. The scale could discriminate between these two groups. However, when a t ratio was computed to determine the significance of difference between these two groups in the number of full-time jobs held, the figures indicated that the difference could be due to chance 10 percent of the time, and this can only be interpreted as not being a significant difference. Thus, the job turn-over rate of the most authoritarian of the early school leavers is not statistically greater than the job turn-over rate of the least authoritarian of the early school leavers. The null hypothesis in this case can not be rejected.

In this particular inquiry, the outcome might have been affected by the employment situation in Detroit during this period. Unemployment was relatively high in the last half of 1953 and the first three-quarters of 1954. This was in some part due to the lack of demand for the products of a large automobile manufacturing concern who is the single biggest employer in the Detroit area. When this corporation's business is not good, the subsequent unemployment is relatively extensive. About 65 percent of all the parts and materials used in its products are purchased from outside vendors and thus the vendor's ability to employ workers is affected plus all those who offer goods and services to the population in

general.

This would not affect the drop-out directly since in most cases they are under eighteen and jobs they can hold are prescribed by law.

It does affect them indirectly since the unemployed adult is now competing with the youth for jobs for which they are eligible under the law.

About twenty-five percent of those who had left school had never had a full-time job since their departure from school. Viewing the experimental group as a whole and considering them as being of an authoritarian personality with its underlying hostility, the fact that 25 percent had never had a job might suggest that (other than the state of the economy) they did not desire to place themselves into a superior-subordinate relationship. In effect, they dislike exacting supervision and motivated, either consciously or subconsciously, refuse to put themselves into a situation whereby they might be subject to authority.

of those who were or had been employed, 9 percent had used an organized agency as the Michigan Employment Securities Commission or private employment agencies to obtain employment. About 20 percent got a job through newspaper ads and about 25 percent through "shopping around." The rest depended on relatives and friends to obtain employment. Thus, of all the school leavers, about 37 percent actively sought jobs and used recognized employment media, about 37 percent had jobs obtained for them by relatives and friends and about 25 percent had never been employed and had done little to obtain employment.

Hypothesis (5). There is no relationship between delinquency and scores on an authoritarian scale. The number of subjects in the sample

who had violated some law and had been detected in this by the police amounted to sixteen percent of the total group under study. Since less than three percent (45) of the total juvenile population can be expected to commit some act of delinquency, the obtained sixteen percent is indeed much more than would be expected. In this light, the sample is not representative of the whole juvenile population.

The youth in the sample are primarily from the lower socioeconomic groups. It has sometimes been concluded that the delinquency
rate is higher among these groups but this would not explain the
discrepancy since the figure 3 percent already includes them. Too, it
has often been said that the children from the higher socio-economic
groups escape the onus of being declared delinquent. However, this is
based on court convictions and not necessarily on records maintained by
the police youth bureau. By definition of juvenile delinquent as given
in Chapter I of this paper, conviction does not enter the picture. Thus,
those of the higher socio-economic levels are included in this count of
the number of delinquents in the sample and from this standpoint, the
sample is not biased. The writer can not explain nor attempt to rationalize
why sixteen percent of the total sample had one or more recorded delinquencies at the Detroit Youth Bureau, whereas one would expect only
three percent to have committed some delinquent act.

Be this as it may, the computed point biserial coefficient of correlation and biserial coefficient of correlation (+.08 and +.12 respectively) are so low that one must conclude that there is no significant relationship between delinquency and hostility as measured by the 'F'

Scale. The null hypothesis cannot be rejected. Guilford says:

(15:216) "We cannot prove the truth of the null hypothesis; we can only demonstrate its improbability." Thus, it would seem that it is improbable that there is a relationship between delinquency and authoritarianism as measured by the 'F' Scale. Perhaps the instrument used is not sufficiently sensitive; perhaps the sample is too small to give valid results; perhaps the instrument is measuring more of a submissive than an aggressive variable since both of these variables are components in the total authoritarian personality as conceived by the California group.

On the other hand, there are some behavioral evidences that imply that hostility toward authority might be involved in delinquency. Detroit papers on March 28 of this year carried a story of two juveniles doing \$10,000 worth of damage to a Detroit school. When asked why, one boy stated: "They're too strict at that school," (54:3) A rather vivid example of hostility toward teachers being displaced to inanimate objects which cannot in turn retaliate. In a periodic report concerned with children and youth in trouble, prepared by the Detroit Police Youth Bureau, the Juvenile Division of the Probate Court and the Mayor's Committee on Children and Youth, figures show that seventy-five percent of all delinquent acts are committed between 2:00 P.M. and Midnight. In drawing conclusions from this, the writers say that: (52:1) "A peak in offenses, reached during the early part of the evening, may reflect an end to the day's routine of school, work, and organized recreation." Though these writers may imply little except boredom, it is a known fact that delinquency increases when school is in session and decreases

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during vacation periods. In a study that concerned juvenile delinquency and the schools. Kvaraceus says: (18:135)

. . . much of the school data point to a multiplicity of unwholesome, unsatisfactory, unhappy and frustrating situations in which the delinquents were enmeshed. These data suggest that the school may be full of predisposing stimuli which elicit aggression responses on the part of the maladjusted child.

Though Kvaraceus speaks of the "maladjusted" child, it is a generally accepted concept that frustration leads primarily to aggression whether the youth is maladjusted or not.

On the basis of the t test, the hypothesis cannot be rejected. On the basis of certain behavior and results of other studies, one might go along with Guilford (15:208) where he says, "We can find evidence from the t test favoring the rejection of a null hypothesis but if we cannot reject it the outcome is inconclusive."

Conclusions

As indicated by judges' ratings and by a measurement of authoritarianism, there is evidence that those who leave school prior to graduation from high school are more hostile toward those who are in authority than those who remain in school. There is some evidence that the strength of the resentment lessens as the youth considers his former teachers, the police and his parents. It can not be conclusively shown in terms of the measuring instruments used that this resentment toward supervision is carried over to the work situation to the point that those who are the most hostile of the drop-outs have a more rapid job turn-over rate than those who are the least hostile. The hostility present is not necessarily

reflected or manifested in juvenile delinquency. No significant coefficient of correlation was found between score on the authoritarian measure and officially noted delinquency.

Going beyond the hypotheses (and perhaps the data), the problem of delinquency is such that to expect any scale to predict it would perhaps be asking too much. It is generally accepted that only a small fraction of those who have violated the law are apprehended. Officially noted delinquents represent only a sample of delinquents and a substantial pare of the juvenile population has probably behaved like the detected delinquent at some time. Thus, when the so-called delinquent group is compared to the so-called non-delinquent group on some sort of scale, check list, et cetera, the measure cannot differentiate accurately since in effect, there are not two groups being compared but only one.

Other studies pointed out that the drop-out was not a "joiner," that he did not feel that he was a part of the group in the school system, that there was no "cohesiveness" involved between him and the school.

Data collected for this inquiry substantiates this in that there was a significant difference between the drop-out and the non-drop-out in the number of organizations to which the student belonged or in the number of group activities, as school athletics, in which the student participated. Certain studies in group dynamics and human relations point out that there is an inverse relationship between autocratic leadership and group cohesiveness. The democratically led institution or organization results in fewer withdrawals from the group, group-mindedness is more apparent and

there is a more spontaneous cohesiveness between individuals in the group that help keep them engaged in a common task. Thus, if the teacher is autocratic or perceived as such by the student, then perhaps this contributes to the student's withdrawal from the group -- the group in this case being the ones remaining in school.

Implications for Further Research

The survey of the literature concerned with early school leaving and the present inquiry show that the picture of the drop-out has been relatively stable in terms of age, grade, sex, intelligence and socio-economic group for at least two decades. Remedial measures already taken on the basis of these studies have centered primarily around curriculum changes and have seemingly have had little effect on the drop-out rate. Thus, a different approach, perhaps on an individual basis and one more concerned with attitude and motivation, might be helpful.

The present inquiry attempted to hold the variables constant that were thought to be influential by previous investigators with only attitude toward authority figures uncontrolled. The inquiry revealed some evidence that the early school leaver, unlike his counterpart who remained in school, resented authority and expressed hostility toward his teachers, toward the police and towards his parents. Implications for further study are twofold. First is reaffirmation of the presence of hostility using different measures of attitude and with a larger sample so that the validity of the findings can be established. Second, a controlled

investigation in a one-teacher school (probably rural) where an estimate of the presence or absence of authoritarianism in the teacher can be established and the drop-out rate in the school with a permissive teacher compared with the drop-out rate in the school with an autocratic teacher. This might also be accomplished by a large-scale investigation of all the teachers in a large school system and comparing drop-out rates between schools, having ascertained some difference in authoritarianism in the school as a whole.

Though hostility might be a variable in delinquency, the whole area of juvenile delinquency is so complex that any replication of this study might better separate the problem of delinquency from that of early school leaving. A fruitful inquiry into the matter of delinquency would probably have to operate on the premise that delinquency-non-delinquency is not necessarily a dichotomy, but rather that the behavior is along one continuum.

APPENDIX A

City of Detroit

COMMISSION ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH

17TH FLOOR WATER BOARD BUILDING
735 RANDOLPH STREET
DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN
WOODWARD 2-6286

August 30, 1954

Miss Mary L.... 1775 X, Apt. 1-A Detroit 6, Michigan

Dear Miss L....:

The City of Detroit is interested in the best possible opportunities for all its citizens.

You know that many young people are no longer in school but that the labor laws of the State of Michigan prevent some of them from getting many kinds of jobs because of their age.

We want to advise the city government on ways to make better use of such young people.

Your name has been selected as one of a group of fifty young persons we are asking to advise us about their jobs, their ambitions, what they do for fun, and how the city might help them.

We are asking that you come to our offices at 704 E. Jefferson to discuss such things as: chances for employment, job interests, and other matters of concern to you.

Through a private fund, we can pay your carfare and a dollar for your time.

If you can find time to help us, will you indicate on the enclosed card the two most convenient days and the best time of day for you to come in?

Thank you, in advance, for giving this service to your community. In return, we hope we can serve you and others who are out of school.

Sincerely yours,

Paul E. Johnson, Executive Secretary

PEJ:lm

APPENDIX B

If you can assist us please indicate day and time of day.

CHECK IW	10:	CHECK	TWO:
MON. TUES. WEDS. THURS. FRI. SAT.		9:00 A.M. 10:00 A.M. 11:00 A.M. 1:00 P.M. 2:00 P.M. 3:00 P.M. 4:00 P.M.	
	Signed,		

APPENDIX C

(Asked as applicable)

- 1. Do you have a job now?
- 2. How long have you been out of a job?
- 3. What do (did) you do on your job?
- 4. How much do (did) you get for doing this job?
- 5. How did you go about getting this job?
- 6. What kind of help would you need in getting a job?
- 7. Do (did) you like your job? If not, why not?
- 8. Of all jobs, what job would you prefer?
- 9. Do you know of any reason(s) why you can't get the job you would like?
- 10. How many full-time jobs (30 hours plus) have you held since you left school?
- 11. What does your father (bread winner) do for a living?
- 12. What do you do for fun now?
- 13. What did you do for fun when you were in school?
- 14. Do (did) you belong to any clubs or organizations while in school or now?
- 15. Did you have any real close buddies while in school? (3-4)?
- 16. Did any of your close friends quit school?
- 17. Did your teachers seem bossy to you or like your friend or helper or what?
- 18. In general, do you like to be around dictatorial people, the bossy kind?
- 19. You have been reading about rowdyism and the police "get-tough" policy, What do you think is the cause of this rowdyism? Is this policy of getting tough a good one? Will it help the situation? Why?
- 20. Would you consider one or the other of your parents the boss in the family? Can you discuss, argue, reason with the "boss" as an adult without being deprived of some privilege or being disciplined in some way?

APPENDIX D

The following statements refer to a number of things about which some people agree and others disagree. Please indicate what you think about these statements by blackening the space within the parenthesis to the right of the statement and under the number which best tells how you feel about the statement.

USE THIS SCALE: 1 - Disagree very much; 2 - Disagree pretty much; 3 - Disagree a little; 4 - Agree a little; 5 - Agree pretty much; 6 - Agree very much.

EXAMPLE: Make believe the next line is the statement:

"Anyone who makes a nasty remark about our 1 2 3 4 5 6 country should be punished." () () () () ()

Now if you agree very much with this statement you would put a black mark under 6 as has been done for you because the number 6 stands for "agree very much" as indicated in the scale in the paragraph just above this paragraph.

PLEASE DO ALL OF THE NEXT 28 ITEMS: Look at the scale each time you make a black mark so that you will be putting down exactly what you think about the statement. If you are not sure of some of the words, ask whoever is in charge to help you. Take your time and be sure and put down exactly what you think. This is not a test and there is no time limit.

1.	There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.	1 ()	2	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()	6 ()
2.	Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.	()	()	()	()	()	()
3.	No same, normal, decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relative.	()	()	()	()	()	()
4.	Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict.	()	()	()	()	()	()
5•	Wars and social troubles may someday be ended by an earthquake or flood that will destroy the whole world.	()	()	()	()	()	()
6.	Most people don't realize how much our						

() () () () () () ()

lives are controlled by plots hatched

in secret places.

1 - Disagree very much; 2 - Disagree pretty much; 3 - Disagree a little;

4 - Agree a little: 5 - Agree pretty much: 6 - Agree very much. 7. Science has its place, but there are many important things that can never 1 2 3 4 5 possibly be understood by the human mind. 8. Sex crimes such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to () () () () () ()() be publicly whipped, or worse. 9. Every person should have complete faith in some supernatural power whose decisions he obeys without question. () () () ()() () 10. Homosexuals are hardly better than criminals and ought to be severely punished. () () () () 11. An insult to our honor should always be punished. () () () () () 12. Familiarity breeds contempt. () () () () () () 13. Nowadays when so many different kinds of people move around and mix together so much, a person has to protect himself especially carefully against catching an infection or disease from () () () () them. The wild sex life of the old Greeks and Romans was tame compared to some of the goings-on in this country, even in places where people might () () () () () least expect it. 15. What this country needs most, morethan laws and political programs, is a few courageous, tireless, devoted leaders in whom the people can put () () () () their faith. () 16. What the youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family () () () () and country. ()

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1 - Disagree very much; 2 - Disagree pretty much; 3 - Disagree a little; 4 - Agree a little: 5 - Agree pretty much: 6 - Agree very much. 17. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up 1 2 3 4 5 6 they ought to get over them and settle down. 18. People can be divided into two distinct classes: the weak and () () () () ()the strong. () Some day it will probably be shown 19. that astrology can explain a lot of () () () () () ()things. 20. Nowadays more and more people are prying into matters that should re-() () () main personal and private. () 21. If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off. () () () () () 22. Most of our social problems would be solved if we could somehow get rid of the immoral, crooked, and () () () () () feebleminded people. 23. When a person has a problem or worry. it is best for him not to think about it, but to keep busy with more cheer-() () () () ful things. No weakness or difficulty can hold us () () () back if we have enough will power. () A person who has bad manners, habits, and breeding can hardly expect to get along with decent people. () () () () () () 26. Nobody ever learned anything really () () () important except through suffering. () () () 27. The businessman and the manufacturer are much more important to society () () () than the artist and the professor. () () () Some people are born with an urge to 28. jump from high places. () () () () ()

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